

# **Broken Promises: The Death of Deliberative Democracy**

A Congressional Report on the Unprecedented Erosion of the Democratic Process in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress.

Compiled by the House Rules Committee Minority Office **The Honorable Louise M. Slaughter, Ranking Member** 

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

In the 108th Congress, House Republicans became the most arrogant, unethical and corrupt majority in modern Congressional history. When they took control of the House after the 1994 elections, Republicans vowed they would be different than previous Congresses. They promised they would manage the House in a way that fostered what they called "deliberative democracy," which they defined as *"the full and free airing of conflicting opinions through hearings, debates, and amendments for the purpose of developing and improving legislation deserving of the respect and support of the people."* 

This report documents how, ten years after their "revolution," House Republicans have completely abandoned this standard of deliberative democracy they set for themselves. Furthermore, they have abandoned any other principle of procedural fairness or democratic accountability. In the opinion of many non-partisan observers of Congress, the 108th Congress not only matched the worst abuses of earlier Congresses; it set a whole new benchmark.

This report examines in detail how, over the past two years, the Republican leadership ignored the House Rules and the basic standards of legislative fairness and regular order with an impunity that is unprecedented in the history of the House of Representatives. This report shows that:

Despite their vows to open up the rules process and restore deliberative democracy to the House chamber, House Republicans took unprecedented steps in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress to make the House floor a "democracy-free zone." They used closed and highly restrictive rules to prevent Members from offering amendments that would have provoked real debate and forced Members to go on the record on real issues. The end result of this policy was that special interests, not U.S. Representatives, wrote the major bills in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress. Even former Speaker Newt Gingrich recently suggested House Republicans "should open up the rules more."

- House Republicans continued to squeeze out real debate on controversial issues in the House by devoting more and more floor time to suspension bills. In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, Republican leaders apparently decided that the House should spend two out of the three days of its already abbreviated legislative week on non-controversial legislation, such as bills that name post offices and congratulate sports teams. At the same time, they allowed less time and fewer amendments and votes on the serious, substantive legislation the House considers.
- Rules Committee Republicans intentionally used emergency meeting procedures and late-night meetings in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress to discourage Members and the press from participating in the legislative process. These tactics not only discouraged Members from bringing amendments to the Committee and participating in the legislative process; they also appeared to be drive Republican Rules Members off the Committee.
- House Republicans repeatedly embarrassed the House by granting blanket waivers to conference reports and rushing them through the House before Members could read them. The 108<sup>th</sup> Congress was repeatedly ridiculed for the special-interest provisions Republican leaders stuck into conference bills, such as the infamous "Hooters" provision in the Energy bill and the provision allowing Congressional staffers to snoop on American citizens' tax returns.

We conclude this report with some modest recommendations to curtail the most egregious abuses we observed in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress and restore a small measure of accountability and democratic deliberation to a legislative body that is supposed to be a model of those two values. Those recommendations are:

• Open up the process by allowing debate and votes on more serious amendments. The Republican leadership should heed the advice of former Speaker Newt Gingrich and "open up the House Rules more." They should allow, and even encourage, serious amendments that enjoy the support of a "substantial number of Members" to come to the House floor for debate and up-or-down votes.

- Allow more bills to be considered under open rules. In the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Republican leadership should increase the percentage of bills it allows to be debated under an open rule process, and decrease the percentage of bills it jams through the House under closed rules.
- Spend more time on major, substantive legislation and less time on suspension bills. Instead of using the suspension of the rules procedure to crowd out debate on major legislation, the Republican leadership in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress should expand debate time and the consideration of amendments by restricting suspensions to Mondays and Tuesdays. The House should spend the majority of its time in session debating and voting on the major policy issues of our day, not naming post offices and congratulating sports teams.
- Bring back regular order and reduce the number of late-night or earlymorning "emergencies." The House Rules Committee should only use the "emergency meeting" procedure in the small number of cases, before recesses or at the end of sessions, when the House moves legislation more quickly through the process than regular order allows. Regular order should be the rule, not the exception. Instead of meeting late at night or early in the morning, the Rules Committee should do its business during regular "business" hours so that Members and the press can attend and participate in the House rule-making process.
- *Give Members three days to read conference reports.* The Rules Committee and Republican leadership should end its practice of granting "blanket waivers" to conference reports. The Committee should protect Members' rights to know the content of conference reports by waiving only those provisions that are absolutely necessary for the orderly consideration of the conference report. The three-day layover requirement should be waived only in the most exigent circumstances, and then only by a two-thirds vote of the House.

## **INTRODUCTION – THE "IMPERIAL CONGRESS"**

The 108<sup>th</sup> Congress was not the first in the history of the House in which the majority leadership abused the House rules to block meaningful deliberation on legislation with far-reaching effects on the lives of millions of Americans. Nor was it the first to hold open a vote beyond the customary time limit in order to twist enough arms to turn a losing margin into a victory. And, to be fair, the Republican leadership of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress was not the first to manipulate House rules to exclude the minority from the legislative process or to jam through bills that probably wouldn't have enjoyed majority support in the House if Members had been able to read them.

No, what sets the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress apart from its predecessors is that stifling deliberation and quashing dissent in the House of Representatives became the standard operating procedure. Heavy-handed maneuvers that a few years ago would have inspired outrage among fair-minded Democratic or Republican Members, became commonplace. Past Congresses waived the House Rules; the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress simply ignored them. And when their tactics led them into conflict with House Rules they could not ignore, they changed them. In an editorial criticizing the way the majority handled the Energy Bill conference report in late 2003, the <u>Washington Post</u> commented: "An occasional illness has become a chronic disease. Tactics once considered egregious have become ordinary."<sup>1</sup> An in-depth investigation by the <u>Boston Globe</u> into House procedures in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress reported that "longtime Congress-watchers say they have never seen the legislative process

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Uncivil Society," <u>Washington Post</u>, October 22, 2003.

so closed to input from minority-party Members, the public, and lobbyists whose agenda is unsympathetic to GOP leadership goals."<sup>2</sup>

Week after week in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, we watched as the Rules Committee and the Republican leadership lowered the standard of what passes for a "fair process" in the U.S. House of Representatives. We watched as non-controversial suspension bills, rather than debate on major legislation, occupied more and more of our already abbreviated weekly schedule. We watched as the Rules Committee routinely ignored regular committee order, opting instead for doing business under "emergency" procedures in the wee hours of the night or early in the morning. We watched as the Rules Committee excluded larger and larger numbers of House Members with amendments from floor debates. We watched as Republican leaders shut down the conference process so completely that the only people who knew the contents of conference reports when they came to the House floor were the special interest lobbyists who had written them.

Outside experts appear to share our assessment. When asked to compare the heavyhanded control of the majority in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress to past Congresses, Brookings Institution congressional scholar Thomas Mann, commented: "It's worse…It's been carried to a new extreme."<sup>3</sup> In July, 2003, Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute commented: "If Democrats, when they were in the House majority, jammed through plenty of bills without Republican participation and turned off moderate Members of the minority, their highhandedness was nothing compared to what House Republicans are doing now."<sup>4</sup> A year further into the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, Ornstein's critique of the Republicans' management of the House had grown even harsher. He wrote: "It is the middle-finger approach to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Susan Mulligan, "Back-room Dealing a Capital Trend. GOP Flexing its Majority Power," <u>Boston Globe</u>, October 3, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Michael Crowley, "Oppressed Minority," <u>The New Republic</u>, June 23, 2003, p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Norman Ornstein, "Intervention Time: GOP Should Rein in Chairman Thomas," <u>Roll Call</u>, July 23, 2003.

governing, driven by a mind-set that has brought us the most rancorous and partisan atmosphere I have seen in the House in nearly 35 years."<sup>5</sup>

In short, the current Republican leadership has become the arrogant and corrupt majority they despised and condemned in their minority days. In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, Republicans abandoned any of the moral high ground they still claimed to have from their campaign to reform the way Congress did business in the early 1990s.<sup>6</sup> As our former colleague Joe Scarborough wrote recently in the <u>Wall Street Journal</u>:

"Ten years ago, Republican congressional candidates like me were running as Washington outsiders promising to balance the budget and pay off the federal debt. We campaigned against the Imperial Congress and promised Americans that if we got elected, we would be different. We lied."<sup>7</sup>

The Members who once, with some justification, railed against a majority leadership's abuses of power are now the masters of their own Imperial Congress. As <u>Roll</u> <u>Call</u> noted in an editorial last year, "Eight years after the takeover, Republicans are blocking Democratic amendments with as much authoritarian disdain as Democrats ever demonstrated - or more. And the autocrats in charge are the former complaining victims...."

To his credit, Chairman Dreier finally admitted during this Congress that he was using many of the tactics he condemned when he was in the minority. He told <u>USA Today</u>: "We have had to do some of the things we criticized once...But now that I'm in the majority, I have this responsibility to govern. It's something I didn't completely understand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Norman Ornstein, "GOP's Approach to Continuity: Not Just Unfortunate. Stupid," <u>Roll Call</u>, June 9, 2004. <sup>6</sup> "In 1994, Republicans won their way back to power in the House on a crusade to topple a party grown arrogant and corrupt after four decades in power. Yet, once in power, they gradually rolled back many of the reforms proposed at that time: a ban on gifts from lobbyists, term limits for the House speaker, rules protecting minority rights, and, most recently, a party rule requiring leaders to step down after a criminal indictment - as now seems possible for House leader Tom DeLay of Texas…'When you have a victory, there is a temptation to a sense of arrogance. It makes you less surefooted, wary and prudent. There's a real danger of overreach,' says Ross Baker, a political scientist at Rutgers University in New Jersey." Gail R. Chaddock, "GOP's Bolder Reign on Hill," Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 19, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Joe Scarborough, "Pork," <u>Wall Street Journal</u>, September 23, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "Oppression," <u>Roll Call</u>, June 18, 2003.

when I was in the minority."<sup>9</sup> While Chairman Dreier certainly has the right to change his mind on the question of what constitutes a "fair process" in the House, we will continue to point to comments he made when his perspective was that of a minority Rules Committee Member. For example, in 1993, Chairman Dreier and his Republican Rules Committee colleagues issued a report condemning a number of tactics they argued the majority was using to shut down "deliberative democracy," which they defined as: <u>"the full and free airing of conflicting opinions through hearings, debates, and amendments for the purpose of developing and improving legislation deserving of the respect and support of the people."</u> In quite eloquent words, Chairman Dreier and his colleagues made the following statement:

"When Members are elected to Congress with the expectation that they will be exercising their rights as lawmakers on behalf of their constituents, only to be told they may not fully exercise those rights on the House floor, something has gone radically haywire with the constitutional scheme of things. While the majority party always has the right to establish the rules and legislative agenda for the House, it should recognize the need to place responsible limits on those powers which permit all Members to fully participate in the truly deliberative process and of all the people to be fully represented in their national legislature."<sup>10</sup>

While Chairman Dreier no longer seems interested in holding himself accountable to the definition of a fair process he and his colleagues set for themselves a decade ago, we think it is a good one and we will continue to draw attention to their actions that fall below their standard. A review of House proceedings over the past two years leads us to the unavoidable conclusion that, if the benchmark is "deliberative democracy" as Chairman Dreier and House Republicans defined it in the underlined quote above, the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress was a miserable failure. This report will discuss in more detail the ways the Republican leadership and the Rules Committee majority systematically denied House Members and the American people the "full and free airing" of ideas they deserve. It will also make some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Andrea Stone and William M. Welch, "GOP Comes Around to a Majority View," <u>USA Today</u>, June 17, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Congressional Record, April 21, 1993, p. H 1956.

modest recommendations to curtail the most egregious abuses we observed in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress and restore a small measure of accountability and democratic deliberation to a legislative body that is supposed to be a model of those two values.

### <u>I. House Republicans Used Restrictive and Closed Rules to Make the</u> <u>House Floor a Democracy-Free Zone</u>

The purpose of the House Rules is to balance the majority's right to pass legislation in a timely way with the minority's right to offer amendments and to otherwise participate in the deliberative process.<sup>11</sup> The rules of proceeding, Jefferson wrote in the introduction to his <u>Manual</u>, protect the minority from the "irregularities and abuses" an arrogant majority might be tempted to commit. In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, Republicans abandoned any semblance of balance in the House legislative process and became the abusive majority Jefferson feared. They used the rules not to ensure that the House stayed working on the majority's agenda; instead, they manipulated their control over proceedings to make the House chamber a democracy-free zone---a place where Members' ability to debate and vote on important policy ideas was severely curtailed, and often outright denied.

#### **<u>1. The "Infamous Closed Rule"</u>**

The most basic measure of how a majority is managing the House is the percentage of special rules it approves for an open debate and amendment process versus the number of times it considers legislation under a closed process. The House majority has the right, as well as the responsibility, to effectively manage business on the floor, but, if it chooses, it can do so in a way that fosters "the full and free airing of conflicting opinions." A majority leadership interested in an open process sends to the House rules that allow both majority and minority Members with substantive, serious ideas to debate and get votes on their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> As Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart testified in 1993: "Democracy...I think requires, obviously, rule by the majority. The majority has to be able to implement its ideas. However, it also requires intrinsically, respect for the minority, whether it be a minority of 49 percent, or a minority of one member of Congress. It is indispensable for that minority to have the ability to express him or herself, on behalf of his or her constituents." <u>Testimony Before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress</u>, 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress, S. Hrg. 103-119, pp. 88-89.

amendments on the House floor. It allows debate on some legislation to proceed under an "open rule," a rule that allows Members with germane, properly-drafted amendments to bring their amendments to the floor, debate them under the five-minute rule, and call for votes on them if they desire. In other situations, a majority interested in a less-than-open process might choose to debate a bill under a "restrictive rule," which would limit consideration, but would still allow debate and votes on amendments addressing the bill's key policy questions.<sup>12</sup> As now-Chairman Dreier testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress in 1993: "If we don't have completely open rules, we should at least allow every single area of an issue to be debated, so that we don't foreclose people who represent 600,000 constituents here from having the opportunity to at least be heard and have their ideas considered."<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, a majority interested in jamming legislation through the process with as little deliberation as possible uses highly restrictive and closed rules to make sure that Members with "conflicting opinions" have little or no opportunity to bring those opinions to the House floor for debate and votes. The tools it uses to keep real deliberation in the House to a minimum are "closed rules," rules that make no amendments in order, and unnecessarily restrictive rules, which make only one substitute in order, or exclude

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> As Chairman Dreier testified in 1993: "I can certainly understand the views of the majority. They were elected to control the agenda and the schedule, and they have an obligation to put forth clear and concise legislation that represents their vision of government. I also acknowledge that restrictive rules--not closed rules--are useful and necessary on occasion when the leadership of both parties agree, such as when we consider major tax bills and the DOD authorization bill. Nobody in the minority disputes those contentions, and we are not out to change the principle of `majority rule.' What I and my Republican colleagues are trying to change is a process that does not give the American public clear and concise legislation. Voters are getting vague, confusing, contradictory information. <u>Congressional Record</u>, 5/20/93, p. E 1313.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> <u>Testimony Before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. 103rd Congress</u>. S. Hrg., p. 86.

substantive amendments that would provoke real deliberation and votes on real issues on the House floor.<sup>14</sup>

Republicans came to power in 1994 promising to restore "deliberative democracy" to the House. In the early 1990's, they bitterly complained about the then-majority's increasing use of closed and restrictive rules. At the conclusion of the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress, for example, Rules Committee Republicans wrote that they were "especially concerned about the increasing trend in the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress towards 'restrictive' rules–those which limit the amendment process on bills–and what it portends for deliberative democracy." They went on to say, "we are most disturbed by the practice of the Rules Committee today to report special rules which limit amendments on most major bills."<sup>15</sup>

In speech after speech in the Rules Committee and on the House floor, Republicans hammered the Committee for what they believed to be an excessive number of rules limiting opportunities to offer amendments on the House **f**oor. In a one-minute speech he delivered on the House floor in 1993, for example, Rep. Diaz-Balart expressed his disgust for the "infamous closed rule." He said:

"You know what the closed rule means... It means no discussion, no amendments, nobody here; nobody here even when this is full, can present an amendment to represent their constituents because of that thing called the closed rule. That is profoundly undemocratic, Mr. Speaker. The American people have got to find out about it, they have got to put the pressures on the leadership of this institution to undo and do away once and for all with that most undemocratic principle, most undemocratic practice called and known as the infamous closed rule."

<sup>14</sup> Chairman Dreier will sometimes point to "sense of Congress" amendments and amendments calling for government studies made in order by restrictive rules as evidence that the rule is "bipartisan" or "fair." To any observer of Congress, it should be obvious there is a fundamental difference between these types of amendments and proposals that challenge and/or change a bill's key implementing sections.

<sup>15</sup> Survey of Activities of the House Committee on Rules. 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress, H. Rept. 102-1101, pp. 107-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> <u>Congressional Record</u>, March 3, 1993, p. H 974.

In the beginning of the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress when the Republicans became the majority party of the House of Representatives, they announced their intention to significantly increase the number of open rules. On opening day of the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress, then-Rules Committee Chairman Gerald B.H. Solomon (R-NY) made the following statement on the floor of the House; he said,

"I have been instructed by our new Speaker Gingrich ... He has instructed me to try to have open rules and fair rules be the norm of this Congress ... 70 percent of the rules in the  $103^{rd}$  were restricted or closed rules. We are going to try to turn that around ... I am going to pledge to try to turn this around: Instead of having 70 percent closed rules and restricted rules, we are going to have 70 percent open and unrestricted rules, if we possibly can."<sup>17</sup>

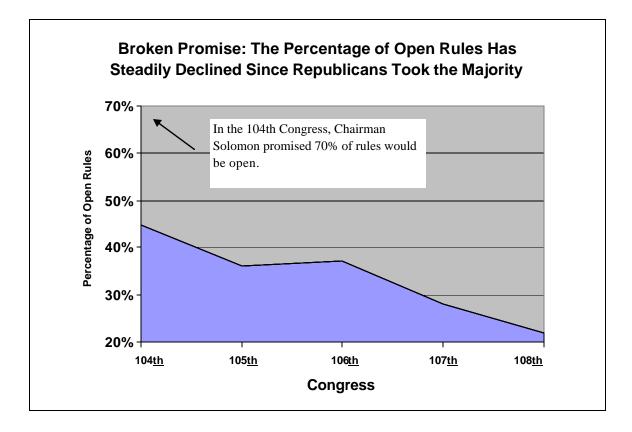
In our past comments, we have documented the Republican majority's failure to comply with Chairman Solomon's 70% open-rule standard.<sup>18</sup> We are increasingly discouraged, however, that the gap between their actual performance and Chairman Solomon's 70% standard grows larger every Congress. At the end of the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, we presented a chart showing that in every Congress since 1994, the Republican-controlled Rules Committee has reported out fewer and fewer open rules.

In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, it continued to get worse. Of the 130 non-conference, nonprocedural rules the Rules Committee reported out in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, 36 were closed, 64 were restrictive, and only 28 were open. Below is an updated chart showing that the percentage of open rules reported from the Rules Committee in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress (22%) is the lowest level since Republicans came into the majority in 1995.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> <u>Congressional Record</u>, January 5, 1995, pp. H134-135, H137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For example, see the Democratic Views in the Rules Committee's 108<sup>th</sup> Congress Oversight Plan, which is available at: http://www.house.gov/rules/rules\_over\_108.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See Appendix 1 to this report. These numbers come from statistics collected by Rules Committee Democrats. Republicans include in their "open rule" count rules with pre-printing requirements (calling them "modified open rules"). As we discuss in section 4 below, we consider rules with pre-printing requirements restrictive rules and score them as such. It should be further noted that in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, only 6 of these 28 open rules were for regular non-appropriations measures. Although it is the House's custom to consider most appropriations bills under open rules, the standing rules of the House (in particular, Rule XXI) severely



Among the 78% of restrictive and closed rules are a number of especially egregious examples of the majority's drive to keep real debate and deliberation off the House floor.

One of the first major pieces of legislation to come to the House floor in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress was H.R. 5, the medical malpractice liability bill, which the House took up in early March, 2003. Although it was the only major bill that came to the floor that week and although Members submitted more than 30 amendments to the Rules Committee, the rule governing debate on this very important issue (H. Res. 139) was completely closed. The rule did not even make in order a substitute amendment co-authored by the two longest-serving Members of the House, Ranking Members Dingell and Conyers. In addition, several times

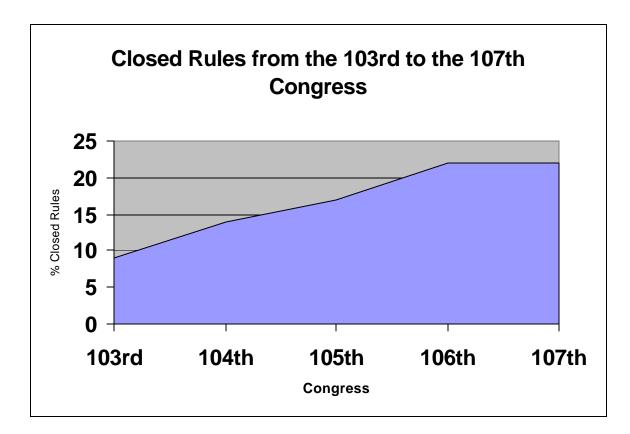
restrict the amendment process on all appropriations bills. Republicans occasionally use another tactic to boost their open rule numbers: they grant open rules to non-controversial measures that should be suspension measures, such as the open rule (H.Res. 353) they granted in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress to a sense of the Congress regarding migratory mourning doves (H. Con. Res. 275). Ironically, now-Chairman Dreier accused then-Speaker Foley of just such open-rule "padding" in 1993. <u>Testimony Before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress</u>, S. Hrg. 103-119, p. 77.

during the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, the majority violated the general practice in the House that a rule on major tax legislation reported from the Ways and Means Committee makes in order a minority substitute. The rule on the 2003 dividend tax cut package (H.Res. 227) was completely closed, as was the rule on the FSC/ETI bill (H. Res. 681). On two occasions in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Republican majority took the closed rule one step further by considering measures under rules (H. Res. 270 and H. Res. 520) that provided for the consideration of Senate amendments to House bills. These two rules were a deliberate move to prevent Democrats from one of their most basic parliamentary rights in the House---the right to recommit a bill before passage.<sup>20</sup>

It is also worth observing that the Republicans' promise to reduce the number of closed rules in the House was a hollow one from the very start. Although they repeatedly condemned the leadership of the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress for considering too many bills under closed rules, each Republican-controlled Congress since that time has reported more closed rules than the 103<sup>rd</sup>. Using the statistics on closed rules compiled by Donald Wolfensberger, a former Rules Committee Republican Staff Director and currently the Director of the Congress Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, the chart below shows that while 10% of the reported rules were closed in the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress, by the 106<sup>th</sup> and 107<sup>th</sup> Congresses, closed rules had risen to almost one-quarter of the Rules Committee's production.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that when Republicans took the majority in 1995, one of their first "reforms" was to reaffirm the minority's right to offer motion to recommit with instructions. See <u>Survey of Activities of the House Committee on Rules. 104<sup>th</sup> Congress</u>, H. Rept. 104-868, p. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> These statistics are available at: http://wwics.si.edu/topics/docs/compdata107.pdf. In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, 28% of the non-procedural, non-conference rules were closed (see Appendix 1).



A quick comparison of the number of open and closed rules in the 103<sup>rd</sup> and 108<sup>th</sup> Congresses illustrates how much worse the current majority is than the majority they so roundly condemned in 1993 and 1994. As the table below shows, the Republican leadership in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress imposed <u>twice as many closed rules</u> on the House than their counterparts in the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress, and allowed <u>21 fewer bills to be considered under open rules</u>.<sup>22</sup> If Republicans thought that the number of open and closed rules in the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress signified the "decline of democracy" in the House of Representatives, then they should agree that the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress saw democracy's utter collapse.

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  See the statistics on the  $103^{rd}$  Congress assembled by Rules Committee Democrats, which is attached as Appendix 5 to this report.

	<u>103<sup>rd</sup> Congress</u>	<u>108<sup>th</sup> Congress</u>
<u>Open Rules</u>	49	28
<u>Closed Rules</u>	18	36

### **Open and Closed Rules: 103rd vs. 108th Congress**

#### 2. More Votes on Amendments Mean More Democratic Accountability

The ability to amend legislation on the House floor is the heart of the deliberative process in the House. After a committee has sent a bill to the floor, the amendment process allows the general House membership to propose changes to the legislation and request record votes on the ideas that provoke debate and disagreement. Open and full debate also has the beneficial effect of improving committee-reported legislation. Although we have not heard him cite it in a while, Chairman Dreier used to quote former House Speaker Sam Rayburn, who once commented that "there are very few [bills] which are not improved as a result of discussion, debate, and amendment. There are very few that do not gain widespread support as a result of being subject to the scrutiny of the democratic process."<sup>23</sup>

Another obvious point is that a lively debate and open amendment process force Members to legislate---to take positions on the controversial and important issues of the day. Giving Members time and latitude to propose, debate, and vote on amendments allows constituents to get a clear picture of their Representative's legislative record. As Chairman Dreier described this process back in 1993:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Congressional Record, April 21, 1993, p. H 1956.

"What does the ability to offer an amendment have to do with accountability? If a Member has the power to offer an amendment, he can no longer claim to support one thing, but then say that he was blocked in his effort to make a change in the law. In addition, with more floor votes on more clear issues, Members will be forced to take clear positions with their votes. That is exactly what the American people want-fewer excuses, and more elected officials who actually stand for something."<sup>24</sup>

By severely restricting the amendment process on all important legislation in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, Rules Committee Republicans destroyed the very accountability mechanism Chairman Dreier so eloquently described when he was a minority Member.<sup>25</sup> Instead of allowing the House to work its will on a piece of legislation, Republican leaders forced Members to vote up or down on bills that had been written in secret by small groups of Members, often with the help of outside special interest groups.

When the House debated the Medicare prescription drug bill, perhaps the most important legislation it considered in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, Democratic and Republican Members brought 59 amendments to the Rules Committee. While it would have served the House well to allow debate on all of them, we hoped the rule could have at least made in order a smaller group of these amendments that addressed the parts of the legislation that had provoked the most disagreement and discussion. Instead, the rule (H. Res. 299) allowed only one Democratic substitute the Republican leadership was confident it could defeat. In other words, on this bill, a bill that changed the fundamental structure of the federal government's largest health care program, the majority did everything it could to prevent the House from taking "clear positions" on "clear issues" related to Medicare reform. We were very disappointed, but not surprised, to learn later that the bill contained provisions that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Congressional Record, May 20, 1993, p. E 1312.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Former Minority Whip and current Vice President Dick Cheney made the same point in a 1989 critique of the then-majority party in the House. "In the United States, majority control over the rules is used not to enhance partisan accountability but to screen members from being accountable for exercising partisan power." Richard B. Cheney, "What's Wrong with Wright? When the House Speaker Manipulates the Rules, Democracy Suffers," <u>Washington Post</u>, April 9, 1989.

would give the pharmaceutical companies billions of taxpayer dollars at the expense of America's seniors, and that Energy Committee Chairman Billy Tauzin, one of the authors of the Medicare bill, had negotiated a  $\mathfrak{D}$  million a year job for himself heading the drug industry lobby during the period the conference was producing its report. The representatives the American people elected to write their laws had less input into this legislation than the drug industry and other special interests that stood to benefit from it. At the end of this secret process, the Republican leadership rushed the final product to the House floor and forced Members, both Republicans and Democrats, to vote on it before they knew its contents. It is safe to say that the Medicare prescription drug program would have been significantly different had Members been able to debate and amend the bill in a manner consistent with an open, democratic process.

Below is a table of major legislation in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, on which the Rules Committee completely or almost completely shut out Democratic Members' amendments:

### Rules Governing Major Legislation in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress Almost Completely Shut Out Democratic Amendments

Legislation	Democratic Amendments Submitted	Democratic Amendments Made in Order
H.R. 4 (H.Res. 69) – Welfare Reform Act	21	2
H.R. 5 (H.Res. 139) - Medical Malpractice Reform Act	29	0
H.R. 2 (H.Res. 227) – Dividend Tax Reduction Act	15	0
H.R. 2115 (H.Res. 265) – FAA Reauthorization Act	9	1
H.R. 660 (H.Res. 283) – Small Business Health Fairness (AHPs)	14	1
H.R. 1 (H.Res. 299) – Medicare Prescription Drug Act	36	1
H.R. 2210 (H.Res. 336) – Head Start Reauthorization	25	2
H.R. 4503 (H.Res. 671) – Energy Policy Act	13	0

But it was not just Democrats whose amendments were left on the Rules Committee floor. The Republican leadership seemed so afraid of the tough votes the deliberative process might create, it was willing to shut down its own Members' ability to offer serious amendments that might have actually forced Members to take "clear positions" on "clear issues." One of the more remarkable episodes in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress was the rule on a banking bill (H. Res. 566) that blocked floor consideration of an amendment offered by former Financial Services Committee Chairman, Rep. Jim Leach, which proposed tougher federal oversight of so-called "industrial loan companies." During debate on this rule, Rep. Leach, the author of the historic "Gramm-Leach-Bliley" banking reform legislation, took to the floor to express his disappointment and anger that the Rules Committee had rejected his amendment:

"I will tell you, this is a scandal. It is nothing less. It is an embarrassment to the committee of jurisdiction; it is an embarrassment to the Committee on Rules. Because all I asked the Committee on Rules to do was allow a single, short amendment that simply said if the new powers under this act come to be applied, an institution would have to come under the Federal banking statutes...But the fix was in. The power groupings did not want this to happen. I will say to you in my time in the United States Congress, this is the greatest microcosm evidence of special interest reasoning that does not even allow debate on this subject in an amendment on the House floor. I happen to be the senior Member of the committee of jurisdiction, a former chairman. I consider it not particularly uncivil to me that I am not allowed to offer this amendment, but I consider it an embarrassment to the House that this issue cannot be debated on the most important banking bill that is going to be before this Congress this year."<sup>26</sup>

The Republican leadership also demonstrated its willingness to muzzle the badlyneeded institutional debate over what would happen to the House in the case of a mass disaster that killed or incapacitated a large number of Members of Congress. Although the Republican leadership allowed the House to consider a constitutional amendment offered by Rep. Baird (H.J.Res. 83) that would allow Members to appoint their temporary replacements in the case of a disaster, it did so with a closed rule (H. Res. 657) that blocked consideration of other constitutional amendment proposals offered by Reps. Lofgren, Larson, and Rohrabacher. Dr. Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute, a close observer of Congress and an expert on Congressional "continuity" issues, called the process that produced this closed rule "stupid and ultimately counterproductive." Ornstein argued that, given the subject matter, the debate on this amendment should have been "open, nonpartisan, and deliberative." Rep. Baird and the other Members offering constitutional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> <u>Congressional Record</u>, March 18, 2004, pp. H1236-7.

amendment proposals (one of whom was a Republican) were not doing so for partisan advantage, but because they had spent a significant amount of time studying this difficult issue and had developed interesting ideas for the House to consider. Their continuity ideas were not intended to embarrass Members or to "structure 30-second campaign commercials." They were the kind of ideas the House should debate and consider, even if they would not ultimately prevail in a final vote. Ornstein wrote:

But the amendments on continuity were different altogether: They were all legitimate and honest. To force this issue to come up under a closed rule was an insult to Democrats, and to Rohrabacher. It was utterly unnecessary. Why do it? It is more than sheer partisanship; it is sheer power. The Republican leadership did it because they could, and they knew they could hold their own troops on a procedural vote.<sup>27</sup>

We are somewhat surprised, but also gratified, to learn that former Speaker Newt Gingrich agrees with us that the Republican leadership has gone too far in blocking Democratic and Republican Members with thoughtful amendments from getting to the House floor. He recently criticized the current House leadership for strangling meaningful House debate. Gingrich said:

"The House Republicans should consciously open the House rules up more. They should consciously allow minorities, which aren't always just Democrats. I mean, sometimes there are minority Republicans who want to offer an idea...An example would be to bring a bill to the floor with a rule which--rules are how you get things to move in the House; every bill has a rule that accompanies it--to bring a bill to the floor with a rule that allows any amendment that has a substantial number of Members supporting it to be voted on or put down, even if that meant on occasion the Republican majority loses to a combination of some Republicans and the Democrats. And the purpose of that is to allow new ideas and to build a psychology of working together."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Norman Ornstein, "GOP's Approach to Continuity: Not Just Unfortunate. Stupid," <u>Roll Call</u>, June 9, 2004.
<sup>28</sup> National Public Radio, "Morning Edition," December 6, 2004. On Monday, January 24, 2005, Speaker Gingrich told a seminar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars that the House leadership's tight rein over House proceedings is an "enormous strategic mistake." He continued, "… the reason it's a big mistake and not a small mistake is that the great virtue of allowing amendments is that you surface problems early and you begin to notice that the world is different than you think it is...It's very dangerous to become an instrumentality of a machine that is insensitive to the need for the opportunity to offer other kinds of choices." <u>Congress Daily AM</u>, Jan. 25, 2005.

We recently saw the lengths to which the House leadership will go to prevent rankand-file House Members from engaging in the creative legislative process Speaker Gingrich describes. During consideration of the FY 05 Commerce, Justice, State appropriations bill, a "tripartisan" group of Members (Reps. Sanders, Otter, Paul and Nadler) offered an amendment on the floor addressing a controversial section of the Patriot Act that they claimed violates Americans' civil liberties. At the end of the normal 15-minute voting period, the amendment was prevailing by a narrow vote. Instead of allowing the vote to close and the majority of the House to express its will on this controversial subject, the majority leadership held open the vote another 23 minutes and "convinced" enough Republican Members to switch their votes that the vote lost on a 210-210 tie. Rep. Otter commented after the vote that, "You win some, and some get stolen."<sup>29</sup>

Regardless of the position any individual Member took on the substance of this amendment, all Members of both parties should be outraged that the Republican leadership demonstrated so little respect for the majority opinion of the House. On this vote, one of the few instances in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress when House Members actually had the opportunity to seriously debate and vote on an issue of importance, the Republican leadership intervened to reverse the clear preference of the House. Republican leaders were not happy with the outcome of the deliberative process, so they vetoed the democratically-decided outcome of the House and substituted in their own preference.

#### 3. Previous Question Votes Mean the Deliberative Process is Not Working

A useful index measuring the degree to which the majority has stifled meaningful deliberation in the House is the number of times minority Members call for recorded votes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Dan Morgan and Charles Babington, "House GOP Defends Patriot Act Powers;

Partisan Rancor High as Plan to Soften Anti-Terror Law Is Defeated," Washington Post, July 9, 2004.

on moving the previous question at the conclusion of rules debates. This previous question procedure operates in the following way: at the end of debate on a rule, the majority Rules Committee Member managing the resolution moves the previous question in order to proceed to a final vote on a rule. Adopting this motion cuts off debate and forces the House to immediately vote up or down on the majority's rule. In other words, the previous question is a tool the majority uses to set the terms and scope of debate on a bill and, more generally, to ensure that the House is working on the majority's agenda.

If the majority wrote rules permitting Members to fairly debate and amend a bill, a vote on the previous question would not be necessary. When both sides think the rule has met the test of basic fairness, the House moves the previous question, passes the rule, and then conducts a substantive debate and amendment process on the underlying bill. But, as this and our earlier reports have detailed, since Republicans have been in the majority, rules allowing for a fair debate and amendment process have become an endangered species in the House. For most legislation, the Republican leadership and Rules Committee majority report rules that severely restrict or sometimes even totally block the minority's ability to debate or amend bills. As we discussed in detail above, the majority's ever more aggressive use of severely restrictive and closed rules often blocks debate and voting on ideas that minority Members (and perhaps many majority Members too) think are important to their constituents and the country.

In these cases, the minority must resort to forcing a previous question vote so that the House can vote on the substantive issues the majority has refused to let them address during regular consideration of the bill. The minority manager of the rule will ask for a recorded vote on the previous question and will place in the record the amendments he or she would offer if the previous question were defeated and debate on the rule continued.

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Both parties have used the previous question vote to force the House to address issues the majority has decided to avoid. Before the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress, when Republicans were in the minority, their Rules Committee Members called for votes on the previous question in order to get the House on record with regard to amendments and issues the rule did not make in order. In the early 1990s, now-Chairman Dreier and other Rules Committee Republicans called for previous question votes in order to force votes on issues such as the line-item veto and the Balanced Budget Amendment---issues they complained the Democratic majority was unfairly blocking and ignoring.

The frequency of recorded votes on previous questions in a Congress is therefore a measure of the majority's willingness to write rules that deny real deliberation on important legislation. Viewed from the minority side, the frequency of recorded previous question votes is a measure of their frustration that the majority's rules are stifling their ability to meaningfully participate in the legislative process on the House floor. The record shows that in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, the number of previous question votes called by the minority increased sharply over past Congresses. Where in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, Rules Committee Democrats called for previous question votes 34 times, in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress they called for 76 previous question votes, nearly 40% of all reported rules<sup>30</sup> In other words, the index of minority dissatisfaction with the majority's rules in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress was twice as high as it was in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress. Twice as many of the majority's rules resolutions unnecessarily and unfairly silenced Members' voices in the floor debate and the amendment process. Descriptions of these recorded previous question votes are included in Appendix 3 attached to this report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> A complete table of these votes is attached as Appendix 3 to this report.

The Republican majority wasted no time setting the tone for the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, when the very first rule the Rules Committee reported (H.Res. 14), denied Democrats any opportunity to offer alternatives to S. 23, a bill temporarily extending unemployment compensation benefits. Rules Committee Democrats led the effort to defeat the previous question so the House could debate and vote on Rep. Rangel's alternative that provided a 26-week extension for unemployed workers who were having trouble finding a new job during the economic downturn of early 2003. Instead of allowing the House to debate and vote on the Rangel proposal (and defeating it if they had the votes), the Republican leadership and Rules Committee Republicans completely closed down the process, denying Rep. Rangel and the American people the opportunity for a "full and free airing" of a thoughtful and serious alternative to the underlying bill.

Unfortunately, this pattern of stifling debate continued throughout the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress and Democrats continued to call for previous question votes to allow the House to address serious legislative proposals Republicans preferred to kill behind the closed doors of the Rules Committee. It is difficult to see how the House and all of our constituents would not have benefited from the consideration of amendments such as: Rep. Spratt's amendment on the Defense authorization bill to speed up the dismantling of weapons of mass destruction in the former Soviet Union (H. Res. 247), Rep. Lantos' amendment to give tax credits to American businesses that continue paying their employees who get called into active military duty in Iraq (H. Res. 681), or Rep. Collin Peterson's amendment on the Intelligence authorization bill to increase the intelligence community's resources for counterterrorism activities (H. Res. 686). Democrats called for previous question votes to bring these and many other serious, thoughtful amendments to the floor of the House for debate and a vote, but were defeated on party-line votes each time.

#### 4. Rules with Pre-Printing Requirements are not "Open Rules"

During the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Rules Committee reported out four rules with a socalled "pre-printing" requirement. This provision requires Members to submit their amendments for publication in the Congressional Record, in accordance with clause 8 of Rule XVIII, on the day preceding floor debate of the legislation. While the majority optimistically calls such rules "modified open rules," we consider them "restrictive" rules and have scored them as such in the appendices attached to this report.

While we concede that considering a bill with a pre-printing requirement is less restrictive than the more common tactic of limiting amendments to those printed in the Rules Committee report,<sup>31</sup> there is a significant difference between an open rule and a rule with a pre-printing requirement. A pre-printing requirement forces Members to reveal their amendments in advance of floor consideration, something that may assist the floor managers, but can disadvantage the Member offering it. In addition, a pre-printing requirement blocks any amendment proposal that might emerge during the course of the debate. When Chairman Dreier was in the minority, he made the following statement about the preprinting requirement during debate on a rule on national service legislation:

"This rule also requires amendments to be printed in the Congressional Record. That might not sound like much, but it is another bad policy that belittles the traditions of House debate. If amendments must be preprinted, then it is impossible to listen to the debate on the floor, come up with a new idea to improve the bill, and then offer an amendment to incorporate that idea. Why do we need this burdensome pre-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> According to our records, 50% (64) of the non-conference report/non-procedural rules reported by the Committee in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress were rules restricting debate to amendments printed in the Committee report. In the "Additional Views" they filed in the <u>102<sup>nd</sup> Congress Survey of Activities</u>, Republican Rules Committee members, including Chairman Dreier, complained this type of restrictive rule had become "a favored method of the majority." Under this procedure, the Rules Committee "selectively determines which [amendment] to make in order and which may not be offered on the floor. Usually, the amendments made in order are subject to strict time limits, as opposed to open debate under the five-minute rule, and are not subject to amendment. On rare occasions the Rules Committee has allowed all amendments submitted to be offered, but this is the exception, not the rule." <u>H. Rept. 102-1101, 102<sup>nd</sup> Survey</u>, p. 109.

printing process? Shouldn't the committees that report these bills have a grasp of the issues affecting the legislation under their jurisdiction? Again, Mr. Speaker, I think we can do better."<sup>32</sup>

We agree with Chairman Dreier's statement that the purpose of the amendment process on the floor is to give duly elected Members of Congress the opportunity to shape legislation in a manner that they believe is in the best interest of their constituents and the nation as a whole. It is not to help the foor manager with his or her job. A majority interested in allowing "the full and free airing of conflicting opinions" would allow at least some House business to occur in an open format---in a procedural framework that allows Members to bring their amendments directly to the floor for discussion and debate under the five-minute rule.<sup>33</sup>

### **II. Republicans Expanded the Consideration of Suspension Bills to Crowd Out Real Deliberation in the House**

Another aspect of the disturbing trend towards curtailing real deliberation on controversial issues in the House has been the Republican leadership's tendency to devote more and more floor time to debating bills under the suspension of the rules. In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, standing House Rule XV permitted the House to consider bills under suspension of the rules on Mondays and Tuesdays, and during the last six days of a session of Congress. The suspension procedure allows for 40 minutes of debate, requires a two-thirds vote for a bill to pass, and allows no amendments except by the floor manager.

The ostensible purpose of the suspension day procedure is, as the Republican majority describes it in one of its Parliamentary Outreach newsletters, "to dispose of non-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Congressional Record, July 20, 1993, p. H4820.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> As we have noted above, most appropriations bills are debated under technically open rules, but amendments are subject not just to the normal restrictions of germaneness, but also a number of other restrictions set out in rule XXI and in the Congressional Budget Act.

controversial measures expeditiously.<sup>34</sup> In theory, suspensions allow the House to quickly dispose of bills that the House leadership knows enjoy broad, bipartisan support and therefore do not require lengthy debate. The procedure allows the House to clear non-controversial bills from its schedule early in the week, so it can deal with more controversial bills that require more substantive floor debate (including the opportunity to amend the bills) during the remainder of the week. Typical suspension day items are measures naming federal buildings, resolutions congratulating individuals or groups, or bills authorizing small pilot programs or land sales that enjoy near-unanimous support in their originating committees.

In practice, however, Republicans have used the suspension of the rules to further reduce debate time on substantive, controversial bills, which should occupy most of the House's time and energy when it is in session. As the Republican leadership has honed its strategy of keeping the amount of real deliberation on the House floor to an absolute minimum, it has discovered that the suspension of the rules procedure is an excellent tool to keep the House occupied with other business. The more hours a week the House spends renaming federal buildings and congratulating groups, the fewer hours it has to fill with real debate in which Members must deliberate and take positions on important matters that provoke sharp differences of opinion in the Congress and our country.<sup>35</sup>

In the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, Republicans had to conduct their strategy of supplanting debate on divisive bills with suspension bills in the open. On twelve different occasions, the Rules Committee reported resolutions permitting the suspension of rules on specific

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Available at: http://www.house.gov/rules/floor\_man.htm#VIII

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Chairman Dreier described very accurately the difference between suspension bills and controversial bills in a 1993 report: "To emphasize just how important special rules are, one must keep in mind that most minor, non-controversial legislation is considered under other procedures---either unanimous consent or suspension of the rules. Special rules are only used for major, controversial bills and involve substantive policy issues and differences." <u>Congressional Record</u>, April 21, 1993, p. H 1957.

Wednesdays during that session. In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, Republicans took the next step in their strategy to crowd out real deliberation by including a Wednesday suspensions provision in the rules package for the first three and a half months of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress. At the time, Chairman Dreier said this temporary Wednesday suspension measure was justified because "it takes time to organize and report legislation at the beginning of a new Congress..."<sup>36</sup> As the Congress wore on, however, and committees began reporting legislation, the Republicans continued to use Wednesdays for suspension bills. At the end of June, Rules Committee Republicans held a hearing on and then reported a resolution (H. Res. 297) extending Wednesday suspensions through the rest of the Congress, explaining that Wednesday suspensions were a tool "to effectively manage the flow of legislation through the House."

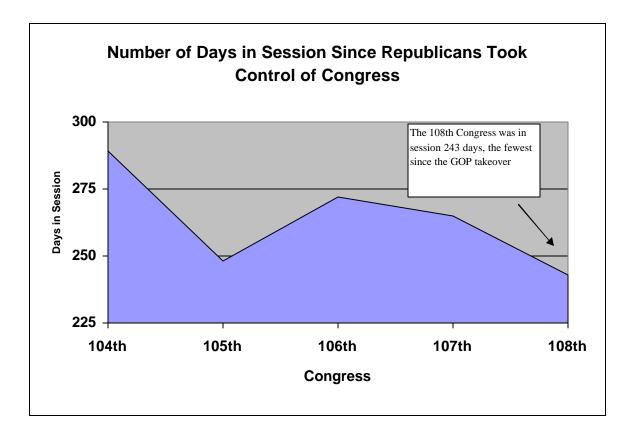
In other words, Republicans rewrote the rules in a way that allowed them to transform Wednesday from a day when the House debates and amends major legislation into a day when it names post offices and congratulates sports champions and foreign governments. The majority took the next logical step in this process when they made the consideration of suspension bills on Wednesdays part of the standing House Rules in their package of rules changes for the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress. Considering suspension bills on Wednesdays is now the regular order of the House.<sup>37</sup>

A quick look at the House schedule in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress shows the large impact this seemingly innocuous rules change had on House business. Because the House leadership

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Congressional Record, Jan. 7, 2003, p. H11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Democrats are not alone in expressing their concern about this expansion of the use of the suspension procedure. Among the rules changes proposed by the Republican Study Committee (RSC) for the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress was a proposal to restrict suspension bills to Mondays and Tuesdays. The RSC noted that "some conservatives may be concerned that expanding the calendar's use [the RSC refers to the "suspension calendar" although there is technically no such thing] to Wednesdays led to the passage of more bills that expanded the size and scope of the federal government, and they might question why this process is being formalized." Policy Brief available at: http://johnshadegg.house.gov/rsc/lb.htm.

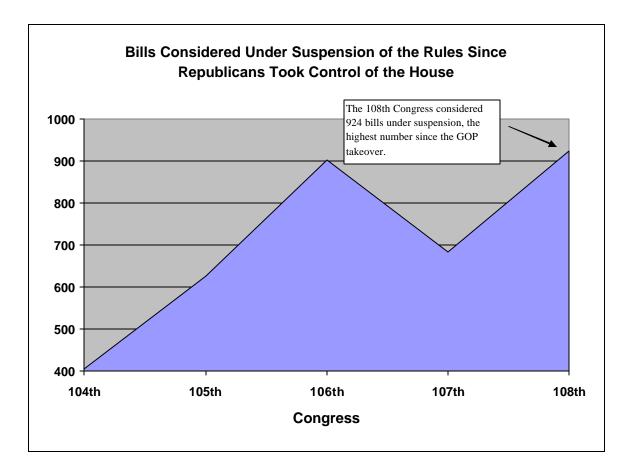
rarely scheduled votes before 6:30 P.M. on Mondays and gave away most of the Fridays they said the House would be in session, the typical House week consisted of three days in session---Tuesdays, Wednesday, and Thursdays. The result of this light schedule, as the graph below illustrates, was that the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress spent fewer days in session than any Congress since Republicans took over the majority in 1995.<sup>38</sup>



By making Wednesday a suspension day, the Republican leadership effectively decided that the House would spend two out of the three days of its already abbreviated legislative week on non-controversial legislation, and only one-third of its time on the major legislation that deserved and required, in Chairman Dreier's words, "the full and free airing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> These figure come from the Congress Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars (http://wwics.si.edu/topics/docs/compdata107.pdf) and from the "Résumé of Congressional Activity," published in the <u>Congressional Record</u>.

of conflicting opinions." As the chart below shows, while the House spent fewer and fewer days in session, it was considering more and more bills under suspension of the rules.<sup>39</sup>



In other words, the statistics bear out the often-repeated claim of Rep. McGovern, a Democratic Member of the Rules Committee, that: "the House has become a place where trivial issues are debated passionately and important issues not at all." By reducing the number of days in session while at the same time increasing the consideration of suspension bills, the majority has been making a concerted effort to crowd out and reduce the time available to the House to consider major, controversial legislation. While the House took

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> These figures come from Congressional Research Service, "Suspension of Rules in the House: Measure Sponsorship by Party," Jan. 6, 2005.

the time to consider almost 1,000 non-controversial bills, for example, the Republican leadership only allowed it <u>four hours</u> to debate the Medicare prescription drug bill, a bill involving hundreds of billions of taxpayer dollars and affecting the quality of health care for millions of American seniors.<sup>40</sup> In spite of the fact that the War against Terrorism and the War in Iraq were posing unprecedented new challenges to our armed forces and our national security during the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, House Republicans continued to whittle away at the time the House spent debating the Department of Defense Authorization bills. Not many Congresses ago, the House would spend two weeks deliberating on the DOD bill. In 2004, the House spent only two days on defense policy. We find it ironic that a legislative body that so often passes bills congratulating other countries for conducting fair and democratic elections appears to have so little interest in allowing the democratic process to unfold in its own chamber.

### **III. Rules Committee Republicans Made Every Effort to Discourage** <u>Members from Participating in the Rules Process</u>

In a letter he wrote introducing the Rules Committee's "Parliamentary Outreach Program," Chairman Dreier wrote: "The House of Representatives is the People's House and its legislative process and daily activities should be comprehensible to both its Members and their constituents." <sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, this statement is at odds with the way Rules Committee Republicans operate the Committee. The Rules Committee conducts its business at times and in a manner that is calculated to make "its legislative process and daily activities" as inaccessible and incomprehensible as possible to Members, their constituents, and the media.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> In contrast, the Senate considered its Medicare prescription drug bill (S. 1) for 9 days and more than a hundred amendments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Available at: http://www.house.gov/rules/floor\_man.htm

#### **<u>1. The Committee Operates in a Constant State of Emergency</u>**

Rule 2 of the Rules Committee rules for the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress required the Committee to conduct its business through regular meetings at 10:30 on Tuesday mornings and at other times and days the Chair may determine necessary.<sup>42</sup> Under "regular meeting" procedures, the Chair must give Members 48-hours notice of every meeting and supply Members with materials relevant to that meeting at least 24 hours before the hearing. Rule 2(c) allows the Chair to call an emergency meeting "at any time on any measure or matter which the Chair determines to be of an emergency nature."

We noted two years ago that the Rules Committee considered nearly one-third of its agenda in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress under emergency procedures and we argued this percentage was excessive. We argued that the rules do not contemplate that the Chair should use the emergency meeting on such a regular basis to conduct the committee's business. We noted that the vast majority of the rules the Committee debates and reports are not emergencies, at least as Webster's defines the term "emergency": *An unforeseen combination of circumstances or the resulting state that calls for immediate action.*<sup>43</sup>

Most bills the Committee handles are foreseeable and do not require action within periods of less than 48 hours. Committee chairs communicate constantly with the House leadership about when they will mark up and report out bills. Moreover, the end-of-week House floor colloquies give the Rules Committee notice of the business the House will conduct the following week, seemingly plenty of time to schedule Committee hearings under the 48-hour "regular meetings" rules. Although we acknowledged there are times when legislation needs to be scheduled in the Rules Committee without the required two-day

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> For the record, the Committee did not meet once at 10:30 A.M. Tuesday morning in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress. In the rules package it recently ratified for the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Committee changed its regular meeting time to 5:00 P.M. Tuesday afternoon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Available at: http://www.house.gov/rules/rules\_over\_108.htm

notice (especially at the end of a session), we argued that a one-out-of-three proportion was unjustified.

We are therefore disappointed to report that Rules Committee Republicans further expanded their use of emergency procedures in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress. Of the 191 total rules the Committee reported for the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, 116 were done as emergency measures.<sup>44</sup> In other words, Rules Committee Republicans <u>considered 60% of the committee's business in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress an emergency.</u>

It seems obvious to us that the Committee conducted more than half of its business under emergency procedures not because they were reacting to bona fide emergency situations, but rather because they intended to make it as clear as possible to House Members that their participation in the rules process was not welcome. Following regular Rules Committee order gives Members a minimum of 48 hours to examine the text of the underlying legislation, and then to work with their staffs, legislative counsel, and the House Parliamentarian to properly draft amendments. Regular order also gives Members time to fit Rules Committee hearings into their busy schedules. It is difficult for a Member, even one who feels very strongly about a particular bill, to schedule testimony before the Rules Committee if he or she receives notice of the hearing just prior to the beginning time of the hearing. The majority is quite aware of the difficulties short notices create for Members and we believe Rules Republicans are intentionally increasing their use of Committee Rule 2(c) to discourage Members from deliberation in the Rules Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> See Appendix 2 of this report for a complete listing of rules reported under emergency procedures.

#### <u> 2. "Vampire Congress" – The Sequel</u>

A complementary tactic to conducting Rules Committee hearings under emergency procedures is to hold hearings late at night or extremely early in the morning. If short notice is not enough to discourage a Member from submitting amendments and testifying before the Rules Committee, then holding hearings at 11 at night or 7 in the morning will surely convince Members not to bother. In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, 76 of the 191 Rules (nearly 40% of <u>all</u> rules) were reported after 8:00 PM and 21 of those were done at 7:00 AM on the next calendar day, but under the legislative fiction that it was still the previous day.

We are sorry to report that the Rules Committee's terrible hours now seem to have driven capable, experienced Members off of the Committee itself. <u>Congress Daily</u> recently reported that our Committee colleague Rep. Deborah Pryce is leaving the Rules Committee after 10 years of service. One of the reasons Rep. Pryce cited for her departure was "the bizarre hours that Rules Committee Members must serve."<sup>45</sup> We would also be interested to know if the Committee's "bizarre hours" were a factor in the decision of three other Republican Members to leave the Rules Committee at the end of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress.

We concede there are short periods, such as the press of business before recesses and at the end of sessions, where late-night emergency meetings in the Rules Committee are unavoidable. But we do not believe the committee should function in this manner for its normal weekly business. We believe the Committee operates this way as a result of a conscious decision by the Republican leadership to make it as hard as possible for rank-andfile Members to take part in the debate and deliberation of legislation in the House. The reason the Republican leadership considers so few bills under regular order is obvious. If Members had three days to study committee-reported bills and 48 hours notice of Rules

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> <u>Congress Daily PM</u>, Dec. 2, 2004.

Committee meetings, they would be much more likely to draft amendments and insist on real debate and deliberation in the Rules Committee and on the House floor. To avoid such an outbreak of deliberative democracy, the Republican leadership rushes bills out of their committees of jurisdiction, through the Rules Committee process in the dark of night, and on to the House floor for passage as quickly as possible.

We were disappointed to read recently that Chairman Dreier and the Republican leadership are developing new, improved tools to discourage rank-and-file Members from participating in the democratic process in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress. According to the report, Chairman Dreier and Speaker Hastert are implementing a new "early warning system," that would allow the House leadership "to identify and resolve controversies" on bills before they come to the House floor.<sup>46</sup> In other words, the Republican leadership and Rules Committee Republicans are working to make the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress even more democracy-free than the 108<sup>th</sup>.

## **IV. Republicans Made the Conference Process a Regular Source of Embarrassment to the House**

The conference process in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress is a case study in how the Republican leadership abused the Rules of the House to block Members, both Republicans and Democrats, from legislating in an informed and thoughtful manner. House-Senate conferences are a critical part of the deliberative process because they produce the final legislative product that will become the law of the land. Although Members can follow and influence legislation as it moves through the committees and then to the House floor, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> "Rules Panel Eyes More Active Role in Shaping Legislation," <u>Congress Daily PM</u>, Jan. 25, 2005.

conference is where the final compromises are made and the final statutory language on the bill's toughest issues are negotiated and drafted. As Chairman Dreier wrote back in 1993:

"Deliberative democracy is just as important at the end of the legislative process as it is at the formative subcommittee stages or the amendatory floor stage. In fact, the case can be made that it is even more important that Congress be fully informed and deliberate on that final product since that is the version that will become law."<sup>47</sup>

Because only a restricted group of House Members participates in conferences and because conference reports can contain significant policy changes from the House-approved version of a bill, the standing House Rules provide Members a number of protections against abuses during the conference process. House conferees are not permitted to propose modifications that are outside the scope of the House-passed bill<sup>48</sup> and they must comply with numerous provisions of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974. In addition, the standing House rules are designed to prevent the House from rushing a conference report to the floor for an up-or-down vote without giving Members the chance to read the final conference product. Also, Rule XXII requires the conference to hold at least one public meeting<sup>49</sup> and requires the conference.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps most importantly, House rules require conference reports and explanatory statements to lay over for three days after publication in the Congressional Record.<sup>51</sup>

Although conference reports are privileged and could come directly to the floor for consideration without a rule, they are usually considered under a special rule because they are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> <u>Congressional Record</u>, April 21, 1993, p. H 1958.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Rule XII, cl. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Rule XXII, cl. 12(a)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Rule XXII, cl. 7(e).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Rule XXII, cl. 8(a)(1)(A)

often in violation of one or more sections of Rule XXII or the Budget Act of 1974. While we do not oppose the Rules Committee's waiving certain points of order against the content or consideration of conference reports in particular situations, we strongly object to the way the Rules Committee has made a practice of reporting rules that grant "blanket waivers" to every conference report the House considered in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress.<sup>52</sup> These Blanket waivers strip the right of Members who did not participate in the conference to insist on regular order so they can have time to learn what is in the final conference report before they vote on it.

In the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Rules Committee reported 28 rules providing for consideration of conference reports. In every single rule reported, the Rules Committee waived all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration, which, among other things, denied Members three days to read the reports. In addition:

- Twenty-four of the 28 rules were done as emergency measures;
- Twelve of the 28 conference report rules were reported from the Rules Committee after 8:00 p.m. In virtually all 12 of these cases, Democratic Members of the Rules Committee did not have copies of the reports until the time of the meeting;
- Six conference reports were reported after 6:30 a.m. the following calendar day (but the same legislative day), and then brought to the House floor within hours of the Rules Committee's action;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Waiving all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration is not the "traditional conference report rule" as the majority members of the Rules Committee so often proclaim in their floor statements. That description suddenly appeared when the Republicans took over the majority of the House in the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress.

• Twenty-four of the 28 conference report rules provided that the conference report would be considered as read, thereby waiving Members' right to have the report read aloud before the vote takes place.

As the table below shows, the Republican leadership regularly jammed conference reports on major legislation totaling hundreds and hundreds of pages through the Rules Committee and the House in a matter of hours. Members interested in the contents of the conference report on the dividend tax bill, for example, had 40 seconds to read each page of the 299-page conference report before they were required to vote on it. Members interested in the FY 04 Defense authorization or FY 04 Omnibus bills would have had to have perused the conference report at a three-pages-a-minute rate between the time the rule was reported and the final vote. Because it was just not possible to read through the hundreds of pages of complex statutory language in the time they were given, Members found themselves in the uncomfortable position of having to vote up-or-down on legislation that was not familiar to them. Of the 28 rules reported for the consideration of conference reports, the 10 worst rules are listed in the table below:

Description of Conference Report	Number of Printed Pages of Conference Report	<b>Committee and Final</b>
FY 03 Omnibus Appropriations (H.J. Res. 2)	1,507	12 hours
Dividend Tax/Reconciliation (H.R. 2)	299	3 <sup>3</sup> ⁄4 hours

## Ten Worst Rules on Conference Reports Rushed Through the House in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

898	5 hours
571	10 hours
852	20 hours
1,186	6 ½ hours
821	6 ¼ hours
938	25 ½ hours
1,645	7 hours
244	4 hours
	571 852 1,186 821 938 1,645

In April, 1993, Chairman Dreier criticized just such waiving of the 3-day layover requirement for conference reports for a very sensible reason:

"The House and Senate have been repeatedly embarrassed over the years by conference reports on voluminous pieces of legislation which have been voted on before even properly printed or distributed, let alone understood. Only after their enactment have some of the provisions come back to haunt the Congress."<sup>53</sup>

Although he was describing an earlier Congress, Chairman Dreier could have been describing the conference report process in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, which reconfirmed the truth of the old saying that "the devil is in the details." Because the Republican leadership systematically waived the rules designed to protect the House against the overly hasty adoption of conference reports, the House was repeatedly embarrassed by the contents of reports Members had not been given the time to read. Because of the protection the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Congressional Record, April 21, 1993, p. H1958.

Republican leadership gave them through the use of blanket waivers, conference committees became unaccountable breeding grounds for special-interest deal making.

One of the earliest actions of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, for example, was to repeal the embarrassing provision Republican leaders had slipped into the Homeland Security conference report at the end of the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress that protected Eli Lilly and a number of other pharmaceutical companies from civil liability for their production of the vaccine preservative Thimerosal. Health-care advocates and editorial pages around the country justifiably asked what this provision had to do with homeland security and how it had been inserted at the last minute into the bill.<sup>54</sup> Republican leaders had no good answers to these questions and finally allowed the provision to be rescinded in the FY2003 omnibus conference report at the beginning of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress.<sup>55</sup>

House Republicans were obviously not chastened by this experience. The Energy Bill conference (H.R. 6), which excluded from its meetings even the House Democratic conferees who had voted for the bill, added scores of obscure provisions that had not appeared in the House or Senate bills, including the embarrassing "greenbonds initiative," which turned out to be a subsidy to build a Hooters restaurant in Shreveport, Louisiana. Dubbed by Senator McCain as the "Hooters and Polluters" bill and widely criticized by the media and a broad range of government-waste groups, this conference report became the textbook example in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress of an unaccountable conference process run amuck. Of course, Members did not find out about many of the devilish details in the conference

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> For example, the editorial page of the <u>St. Louis Dispatch</u> wrote: "The Eli Lilly protection clauses weren't contained in competing versions of the Homeland Security bill passed by the House and Senate. They were added in the dead of night, outside the public view and without debate. Since then, everyone involved has ducked responsibility. For a group of career politicians who demand accountability from everyone else, that stance is stunningly hypocritical." "Gilding the Lilly," December 11, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> In a remarkable refusal to take responsibility for their actions, Republican leaders and Lilly lobbyists refused to reveal who had actually inserted this language into the conference report. See "A Homeland Security Whoddunit. In Massive Bill, Someone Buried a Clause to Protect Drug Maker Eli Lilly," <u>Washington Post</u>, November 28, 2002.

report until after they had voted on it, because the Rules Committee held a 7 A.M. meeting on November 18, 2003, reported out a rule granting a blanket waiver to the conference report (H. Res. 443), and then rushed it to the House floor. The House approved the conference report by 5 P.M. that afternoon, less than twelve hours after the nearly 600-page conference report had been filed.<sup>56</sup>

A similar rushed process occurred for the conference report on the Medicare Prescription Drug bill (H.R. 1), one of the most important pieces of legislation the House considered in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress. The 850-page conference report for H.R. 1 was filed in the House at 1:17 A.M. on November 21, 2003 and had passed the House by 6 A.M. on the morning of November 22, 2003. It is not surprising the Republican leadership jammed this conference report through the House over the objections of Democrats. More surprisingly, they rushed it through despite the protests of a significant part of the Republican Conference. On October 29, 2003, 41 Members of the Republican Study Committee wrote a letter to Speaker Hastert, Majority Leader DeLay, and Majority Whip Blunt requesting that the Medicare conference report lay over for three days, in accordance with Rule XXII. These Members made their request for the following reason:

"The general public will evaluate not only what Congress does regarding Medicare and prescription drugs, but the way in which it does it. A bill proposing such substantive changes to the Medicare system and costing an estimated \$400 billion over the next decade deserves the careful and thoughtful consideration of all Members.

Allowing Members adequate time to properly evaluate the Conference Report will avoid a needless and difficult internal fight on the Rule, and allow Leadership to concentrate its efforts on final passage of the Conference Report. It will also lead to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> During debate on this rule in the Rules Committee, Rep. Frost offered an amendment to the rule that would have not granted a waiver for 3-day layover, but the amendment was rejected on a party-line vote of 6-3. H. Rept. 108-376, Rules Committee vote # 216. During floor debate on H.Res. 443, Rep. Frost tried to defeat the previous question in order to insert a 3-day layover requirement, but the motion lost on a party-line vote (vote # 628).

more public confidence in the legislative process and greater acceptance of that process' final product."<sup>57</sup>

The House leadership apparently decided it would be too risky to let House Members (including their own Republican Members) have three days to consider the bill as regular order would require. Instead, they opted to jam the legislation through the House as quickly as possible, relying on their arm-twisting abilities rather than the merits of the bill. The infamous 3-hour vote on this conference report, plus the accusations that the Republican leadership offered bribes and threatened Members for their votes, could not have improved the "public confidence in the legislative process," as the Republican Study Group had hoped. Other blows to the public's confidence in the process that produced the new Medicare law came from revelations that the Administration withheld from Congress an analysis showing the cost of the bill to be more than \$500 billion; that Energy and Commerce Chairman Billy Tauzin was negotiating for a \$2 million-a-year job with the drug industry during the conference negotiations; and that the new law gave a \$139 billion windfall for the pharmaceutical industry.

The most recent embarrassment was the conference report for the FY05 Omnibus appropriations bill, a massive bill of over 1,600 printed pages, for which the Rules Committee reported out a rule (H. Res. 866) granting the report a blanket waiver at 3:30 PM on November 20, 2004. By 8 P.M. that evening, enabled by a so-called "martial law" rule allowing same-day consideration (H. Res. 846), the House had adopted the report. For days after its passage, press reports surfaced of extraneous provisions that the conferees had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Available at: <u>http://johnshadegg.house.gov/rsc/activity.htm</u>. Rules Committee Democrats also attempted several times to have the Medicare conference report lay over for three days. In the Rules Committee, Rep. Frost offered a motion for 3-day layover, which the committee rejected on a party-line vote of 4 to 8. H. Rept. 108-394, committee vote # 218. On the House floor, Rep. Slaughter attempted to defeat the previous question on H. Res. 463 in order to require a 3-day layover, but her motion failed on a party-line vote (vote # 665).

slipped into this legislation in the dark of night and rushed to the floor for consideration before the ink was dry. One particularly egregious provision (which came to be known as the "Istook Amendment") gave Congressional staffers access to the confidential tax returns of U.S. citizens. After days and days of public outcry, the House was forced to pass a resolution excising this provision from the conference report.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, other outrageous provisions slipped into the bill at the last minute in the dark of night remained in the bill, such as the provision that cut Pell Grants for 90,000 American students and raised tuition costs on another 1.2 million Pell Grant recipients.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Fully recognizing that Republicans hold the majority of seats again in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress, we submit the following recommendations to the Republican House leadership and the Republican Members of the House Rules Committee for consideration. Adopting these modest recommendations would in no way diminish the majority's ability to move their agenda through the House in a timely way. But they would represent a good first step in restoring to the U.S. House of Representatives, the "People's House," the deliberative process that House Republicans used to support, that is, *"the full and free airing of conflicting opinions through hearings, debates, and amendments for the purpose of developing and improving legislation deserving of the respect and support of the people."* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> For example, the editorial board of the <u>Charleston (WV) Gazette</u> wrote on Nov. 24, 2004: "But the real outrage is the process that allows congressional leaders to produce such a monster-length measure and then shove it through with no chance that members know what they're voting for. So it's not surprising that there were red faces all around when a provision surfaced that would allow congressional staffers to enter the premises of the Internal Revenue Service and examine individual tax returns." The <u>Cleveland Plain Dealer</u> editorialized on Nov. 25, 2004: "So what we have is a \$388 billion admission of legislators' failure to conduct the peoples' business in a timely manner; a 1,690-page testimony to the absence of institutional responsibility in the basic administration of government, a 14-pound unamendable bundle of booty whose total contents are unknown to any single member before it becomes law."

#### **Open up the Process by Allowing More Serious Amendments**

Without giving up their right to control the agenda of the House, the Republican leadership should heed the advice of former Speaker Newt Gingrich and "open up the House Rules more." They should allow, and even encourage, serious amendments that enjoy the support of a "substantial number of Members" to come to the House floor for debate and up-or-down votes. Republican leaders should not be afraid of lively debate and close votes on amendments; instead, they should welcome them as a sign that the democratic process is working in the House.

#### <u>Allow More Bills to be Considered Under Open Rules</u>

Again, without giving up their right to control the agenda of the House, the Republican leadership should increase the percentage of bills it allows to be debated under an open rules process, and decrease the percentage of bills it jams through the House under closed rules.

#### <u>More Consideration of Major, Controversial Legislation and Fewer Suspension Bills</u>

Instead of using the suspension of the rules procedure to crowd out debate on major legislation, the Republican leadership in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress should expand both debate time and quantity of amendments on bills it considers under special rules by restricting suspensions to Mondays and Tuesdays. The House should spend the majority of its time in session debating and voting on the major policy issues of our day, as the American people expect from their Congress, not naming post offices and congratulating sports teams.

#### Fewer Late -Night or Early-Morning "Emergencies" and More Regular Order

The House Rules Committee should only use the "emergency meeting" procedure in the small number of cases, before recesses or at the end of sessions, when the House moves legislation more quickly through the process than regular order allows. Regular order should be the rule, not the exception. Instead of meeting late at night or early in the morning, the Rules Committee should do its business during "business" hours so that Members and the press can attend and participate in the House rule-making process.

#### Give Members Three Days to Read Conference Reports

The Rules Committee and Republican leadership should end its practice of granting "blanket waivers" to conference reports. The Committee should endeavor to protect Members' rights to know the content of conference reports by waiving only those provisions that are absolutely necessary for the orderly consideration of the conference report. In particular, the three-day layover of conference reports should only be waived in the most exigent circumstances, and then only by a two-thirds vote of the House.

## Appendix I-complete breakdown of Rules in 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

## 108<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS - 191 Rules Reported

## <u>1<sup>st</sup> Session - 101 Rules reported</u> <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session - 90 Rules reported</u>

## Summary (includes totals for both sessions)

## 191 total Rules:

- 28 open rules (22 of which are appropriations measures)
- 36 closed rules (+11 included in rules with multiple bills)
- 28 Conference Report rules (25 of the 28 have waived 3-day layover)
- 64 Restrictive rules (+2 included in rules with multiple bills)
- 35 procedural (includes martial law (waiving 2/3rds) and suspension day rules)

### Conference report rules - 108th Congress- 28 total

### <u>1<sup>st</sup> Session (18 conference report rules):</u>

Rule Number Bill Number and Title

H.Res. 71	Conference Report on H.J. Res.2 - FY03 Omnibus Appropriations Bill & H.Con
	Res. 35 to correct enrollment from $c/r$ to omnibus
H.Res. 188	Conference Report on S. 151 - PROTECT Act - a.k.a. AMBER Alert
H.Res. 191	Conference Report on H.Con. Res. 95 Concurrent Budget Resolution for FY04
H.Res. 253	Conference Report on H.R. 2 - Jobs & Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation-a.k.a.
	dividend tax bill
H.Res. 276	Conference Report on S, 342 - Keeping Children & Families Safe - a.k.a. child abuse
	prevention reauthorization
H.Res. 374	Conference Report on H.R. 2555 - Homeland Security Appropriations. FY04
H.Res. 383	Conference Report on S. 3 - Partial Birth Abortion Ban
H.Res. 418	Conference Report on H.R.2691 - Interior Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 422	Conference Report on H.R. 2115 - Flight 100 Century of Flight FAA Reauth.
H.Res. 424	Conference report on H.R. 3289 - Emergency Supplemental Appropriations FY04 -
	a.k.a. Iraq/Afghanistan
H.Res. 429	Conference report on H.R. 2559 - Military Con. Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 437	Conference report on H.R. 1588 - National Defense Authorization FY04
H.Res. 443	Conference report on H.R. 6 - Energy Policy Act
H.Res. 444	Conference report on H.R. 2754 - Energy & Water Appropriations
H.Res. 451	Conference report on H.R. 2417 - Intelligence Authorization FY04
H.Res. 457	Conference report on H.R. 1904 - Healthy Forests Restoration
H.Res. 463	Conference report on H.R. 1 - Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization
H.Res. 473	Conference Report on H.R. 2673 - Agriculture Appropriations FY04 - vehicle for
	FY04 Omnibus

### <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session (10 conference report rules)</u>:

Rule Number Bill Number and Title

- H.Res. 649 Conference for S. Con. Res. 95 FY05 Concurrent Budget Resolution
- H.Res. 730 Conference for H.R. 2443 Coast Guard & Maritime Transportation Reauth.
- H.Res. 735 Conference for H.R. 4613 Department of Defense FY05 Appropriations
- H.Res. 794 Conference for H.R. 1308 Child Tax Credit & expiring provisions middle class tax bill
- H.Res. 822 Conference for H.R. 4850 DC FY05 Appropriations
- H.Res. 830 Conference for H.R.4520 American Jobs Creation Act a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax
- H.Res. 843 Conference for H.R. 4200 DOD National Defense Authorization FY05
- H.Res. 858 Conference for H.R. 1350 IDEA Education for Disabled
- H.Res. 866 Conference for H.R. 4818 Foreign Operations FY05 Appropriations End of year Omnibus with 9 Appropriations & H.J. Res. 114 2<sup>nd</sup> FY05 C/R (through 12/3/04)
- H.Res. 870 Conference on S. 2845 9/11 Commission Intelligence Commission Reforms

## Martial Law Rules (rules waiving 2/3rds for consideration) - 108th Congress - 29 total

<u>1<sup>st</sup> Session - 12 rules waiving 2/3rds:</u> Rule Number Bill Number and Description

H.Res. 152	Waiving 2/3rds on March 20, 2003 for H. Con. Res. 95
H.Res. 190	Waiving 2/3rds on April 10, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
H.Res. 192	Conference Report on H.Con. Res. 95 Waiving 2/3rds on April 11, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
11.1000 172	Conference Report on H.R. 1559 - Emergency Wartime Supplemental FY03
H.Res. 197	Waiving 2/3rds on April 12, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
	Conference Report on H.R. 1559 - Emergency Wartime Supplemental FY03
H.Res. 249	Waiving 2/3rds on May 22, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the bill H.R. 2,
	Jobs & Growth Tax Act a.k.a. dividend tax bill, any amendment thereto, any
H.Res. 292	Conference Report, or amendment reported in disagreement from a conference
H.Res. 292	Waiving 2/3rds on June 24, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the bill H.R 2417 - FY04 Intelligence Reauthorization
H.Res. 340	Waiving 2/3rds on July 25, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the bill H.R
	2861 - HUD/VA & Independent Agencies Appropriations. FY04
H.Res. 421	Waiving 2/3rds on October 30, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
	conference report on H.R. 3289 - Emergency Supplemental Appropriations FY04 -
	a.k.a. Iraq / Afghanistan
H.Res. 434	Waiving 2/3rds on November 7, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
	conference report on H.R. 1588 - National Defense Authorization FY04
H.Res. 458	Waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003 for consideration or disposition of any
	joint resolution, bill, amendment or conference report on any FY04 Appropriations
110 450	measure
H.Res. 459	Waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003 for consideration or disposition of any
	conference report on H.R. 1 - Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization
H.Res. 465	Waiving 2/3rds on or before January 31, 2004 for consideration or disposition of
	any joint resolution, bill, amendment or conference report on any FY04
	Appropriations measure

# <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session-17 rules waiving 2/3rds</u>: Rule Number Bill Number and Title

H.Res. 536	Waiving 2/3rds on February 26, 2004 for consideration or disposition of H.R. 3783-2nd temporary highway extension
H.Res. 592	Waiving 2/3rds on April 1, 2004 for consideration or disposition of H.R. 3550 - Transportation Equity Act-TEA-LU
H.Res. 693	Waiving 2/3rds on June 24, 2004 for consideration of H.R. 4614 for Energy & Water FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 731	Waiving 2/3rds on July 21, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 - Child Tax Credit
H.Res. 739	Waiving 2/3rds on July 21, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 - Child Tax Credit
H.Res. 740	Waiving 2/3rds on July 22, 2004 for consideration of a bill for an extension of the highway authorization bill
H.Res. 780	Waiving 2/3rds on September 22, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 - Child Tax Credit-2nd 2/3rds rule for this conference
H.Res. 785	Waiving 2/3rds on September 23, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 - Child Tax Credit-3rd 2/3rds rule for this conference
H.Res. 807	Waiving 2/3rds on September 30, 2004 for consideration of a bill to provide an extension of highway bill TEA-21
H.Res. 828	Waiving 2/3rds on October 7, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for H.R.4520 - American Jobs Creation Act-a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax
H.Res. 831	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for H.R. 4200 - DOD - National Defense Authorization FY05
H.Res. 832	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for H.R.4837 - Military Construction FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 834	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for H.R. 4567 - Homeland Security FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 846	Waiving 2/3rds on or before November 20, 2004 for consideration or disposition of any joint resolution, bill, amendment or conference report on any FY05 appropriations measure
H.Res. 860	Waiving 2/3rds on or before November 20, 2004 for consideration or disposition of a conference report on S. 2845 - intelligence reform
H.Res. 861	Waiving 2/3rds on or before November 20, 2004 for consideration or disposition of a conference report on H.R. 4548 - FY05 Intelligence Authorization
H.Res. 868	Waiving 2/3rds on December 7, 2004 for consideration or disposition of a conference report on S. 2845 - intelligence reform

## Closed rules in 108<sup>TH</sup> Congress - 36 closed rules reported

## <u>1<sup>st</sup> Session - 19 closed rules (plus 4 rules included in single rules with multiple bills unless all were closed):</u> Rule Number Bill Number and Title

Rule Number	Bill Number and Title
H.Res.14	S. 23 - To provide for a 5-month extension of the Temporary Extended
	Unemployment Compensation Act of 2002
H.Res.15	C,C <u>1 rule 2 measures</u> H.J. Res. 1 & H.J. Res. 2 - 6 <sup>th</sup> C/R through 2/1/03 & 7 <sup>th</sup> C/R
	and shell for omnibus
H.Res. 29	H.J. Res. 13 - $8^{th}$ C/R through $2/7/03$
H.Res. 48	H.J. Res. 18 - $9^{\text{th}}$ C/R through 2/20/03
H.Res. 126	H.R. 878 - Armed Forces Tax Fairness
H.Res. 139	H.R. 5 - Help Efficient, Accessible, Low Cost, Timely Healthcare (HEALTH)
	a.k.a. medical malpractice
H.Res.227	H.R. 2 - Jobs & Growth Tax Act a.k.a. dividend tax bill
H.Res. 248	H.R. 2185 - Unemployment Compensation Amendments
H.Res. 258	C,C ( <u>1 rule 2 measures</u> - S. 222 - Zuni Indian Tribe Water Rights Settlement &
	S. 273 - Grand Teton National Park Land Exchange
H.Res. 270	Relating to consideration of Senate Amendments to H.R. 1308 - Child Tax
	Credit
+H.Res. 299	R,C <u>1 rule, two bills and other miscellaneous issues</u> - H.R. 1 - Medicare
	Prescription Drug and Modernization Act & Health Savings and Affordability a.k.a.
LLD 244	medical savings accounts
H.Res. 311	H.R. 2657 - Legislative Branch Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 329	C,C ( <u>1 rule 2 measures</u> - H.R. 2738 - US - Chile Free Trade Agreement
	Implementation) & (H.R. 2739 - US - Singapore Free Trade Agreement
H.Res. 335	Implementation - a.k.a. fast track
H.Res. 401	H.R. 2427 - Pharmaceutical Market Access a.k.a. drug reimportation
<b>H.Kes.</b> 401	2 <sup>nd</sup> rule - H.R. 3289 - Emergency Supplemental Appropriations - FY04 a.k.a. Iraq /Afghanistan
H.Res. 407	H.J. Res. 73 - $2^{nd}$ FY04 C/R through $11/07/03$ and shell for omnibus
H.Res. 417	H.J. Res. $75 - 2^{-1}$ FY04 C/R through $11/07/03$ and shell for onlinedus H.J. Res. 75 - $3^{rd}$ FY04 C/R through $11/07/03$
H.Res. 430	H.J. Res. $75 - 5^{\text{th}}$ FY04 C/R through 11/21/03
H.Res. 450	H.J. Res.78 - 5 <sup>th</sup> FY04 C/R through 11/23/03
H.Res. 464	H.J. Res. 80 - appointing the day for the convening of the $2^{nd}$ session of $108^{th}$
	The second s

# <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session - 17 closed rules (plus 7 included in single rules with multiple bills):</u> Rule Number Bill Number and Title

H.Res. 520	H.R. 743 - concur in Senate amendments to Social Security Protection a.k.a. Texas
	Teachers penalty
H.Res. 561	H.Res. 557 - Relating to the liberation of Iraqi people & honoring troops
H.Res. 580	H.R. 3966 - ROTC & Military Recruiter Equal Access to Campus
H.Res. 585	H.Res. 581 - Sense of Congress regarding compensation for civilian employees &
LLD (00	members of the uniformed services a.k.a. pay parity
H.Res. 628	H.Res. 627 - Iraqi Prisoner Resolution - deploring treatment of Iraqi Prisoners
+H.Res. 638	R,R,C (1 rule for 3 bills - H.R. 4279 - FSA/HSA, H.R. 4280 - Medical Malpractice Reform, H.R.4281 - Small Business Association Health Plans AHPs
+H.Res. 645	C,C,C,C,R (1 rule for 5 bills - H.R. 2728, H.R. 2729, H.R. 2730, H.R. 2731-OSHA,
+11. <b>Res</b> . 043	H.R. 2432 - Paperwork reduction
H.Res. 656	1 rule incorporated 3 bills - H.R. 444 - Back to Work Incentive Act - also adds H.R.
	4409 & H.R. 4410 - then H.R. 4411
H.Res. 657	H.J. Res. 83 - Continuity of Congress Constitutional amendment to fill vacancies
H.Res. 671	C,C ( <u>1 rule for 2 bills</u> - H.R. 4503 - Energy Policy Act, H.R. 4517 - U.S. Refinery
	Revitalization)
H.Res. 681	H.R. 4520 - American Jobs Creation Act - a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax
H.Res. 712	H.R. 4759 - US/Australia Free Trade Agreement Implementation
H.Res. 734	H.R. 3313 - Marriage Protection Act
H.Res. 738	H.R. 4842 - US-Morocco Free Trade Agreement Implementation
H.Res. 801	H.J. Res. 106 - Amending the US constitution to ban gay marriages
H.Res. 802	H.J. Res. 107 - 1st C/R for FY05 Appropriations-through November 20, 2004
H.Res. 803	H.R. 3193 - District of Columbia Personal Protection-repeal DC gun ban
H.Res. 811	H.R. 5183 - Surface Transportation/Highway Extension #6
H.Res. 856	S. 2986 - to increase the public debt ceiling
+H.Res. 866	Cf,C ( <u>1 rule for 2 bills</u> - Conference for H.R. 4818 - Foreign Operations FY05
	Appropriations - End of year Omnibus with 9 Appropriations & H.J.Res. 114 $2^{nd}$ FY05 C/R(through 12/3/04)

+these rules are not counted in the overall closed rule totals because they are rules that provided for consideration two or more bills in one rule where one of the bills was closed but at least one other was restrictive or a conference report

C-closed rule **R**-restrictive rule CF-conference report rule

<u>1<sup>st</sup> Session - 33 restrictive rules:</u> Rule Number Bill Number and Title

H.Res. 69	H.R. 4 - Personal Responsibility, Work, and Family Promotion a.k.a. welfare reform
H.Res. 105	H.R. 534 - Human Cloning Prohibition
H.Res. 147	H.R. 975 - Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention & Consumer Protection
H.Res. 151	H. Con. Res. 95 - Concurrent Budget Resolution for FY2004
H.Res. 160	H.R. 1104 - Child Abduction Prevention a.k.a AMBER Alert
H.Res. 168	H.R. 743 - Social Security Protection
H.Res. 181	H.R. 1036 - Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms a.k.a. gun manufacturers
	liability
H.Res. 189	H.R. 6 - Energy Policy Act
H.Res. 206	H.R. 1350 - Improving Education Results for Children with Disabilities a.k.a. IDEA
H.Res. 210	H.R. 1298 - United States Leadership against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, & Malaria
H.Res. 221	H.R. 1261 - Workforce Reinvestment & Adult Education Act a.k.a. WIA
H.Res. 230	H.R. 1000 - Pension Security Act
H.Res. 239	H.R. 1904 - Healthy Forests Restoration Act
H.Res. 245	H.R. 1588 - National Defense Authorization FY04 - 1st rule
H.Res. 247	H.R. 1588 - National Defense Authorization FY04 - 2 <sup>nd</sup> rule
H.Res. 255	H.J. Res. 4 Constitutional Amendment to Prohibit Physical Desecration of the US
	Flag
H.Res. 257	H.R. 760 - Partial-Birth Abortion Ban
H.Res. 263	H.R. 2143 - Unlawful Internet Gambling Funding Prohibition
H.Res. 265	H.R. 2115 - Flight 100-Century of Aviation FAA Reauthorization
H.Res. 269	H.R. 1115 - Class Action Fairness
H.Res. 281	H.R. 8 - Death Tax Repeal Permanency
H.Res. 282	H.R. 1528 - Taxpayer Protection & IRS Accountability
H.Res. 283	H.R. 660 - Small Business Health Fairness a.k.a. Association Health Plans - AHPs
H.Res. 295	H.R. 2417 - FY04 Intelligence Reauthorization
H.Res. 299	1 rule, two bills and other miscellaneous issues - H.R. 1 - Medicare Prescription
	Drug and Modernization Act & Health Savings and Affordability a.k.a. medical
	savings accounts
H.Res. 309	H.R. 438 - Teacher Recruitment & Retention Act
H.Res. 310	H.R. 2211 - Ready to Teach Act
H.Res. 316	H.R. 1950 - Foreign Relations Authorization a.k.a. state department
H.Res. 336	H.R. 2210 - School Readiness Act-a.k.a. Head Start
H.Res. 339	H.R. 2859 - Emergency Supplemental Disaster Relief Appropriations FY03
H.Res. 360	H.R. 2622 - Fair & Accurate Credit Transactions-a.k.a. fair credit reauthorization
H.Res. 370	H.R. 7 - Charitable Giving Act
H.Res. 375	H.R. 2557 - Water Resources Development Act

# <u>108<sup>th</sup> Congress - 2<sup>nd</sup> Session - 31 Restrictive rules</u>: Rule Number Bill Number and Title

H.Res. 503	S. 1920 - 6 month extension of Chapter 12 of Title 11-Family Farm Bankruptcy
H.Res. 513	H.R. 3030 - Improving the Community Service Block Grant a.k.a.CSBG
H.Res. 529	H.R. 1997 - Unborn Victims of Violence a.k.a. Laci & Conner's Law
H.Res. 546	H.R. 3752 - Commercial Space Launch Amendments
H.Res. 547	H.R. 1561 - U.S. Patent & Trademark Fee Modernization
H.Res. 552	H.R. 339 - Personal Responsibility in Food Consumption a.k.a. obesity/fat liability
H.Res. 554	H.R. 3717 - Broadcast Decency Enforcement-a.k.a. FCC penalty fine increase
H.Res. 566	H.R. 1375 - Financial Services Regulatory Relief
H.Res. 574	H.Con.Res. 393 - FY05 Concurrent Budget Resolution
H.Res. 593	H.R. 3550 - Transportation Equity Act-TEA-LU
H.Res. 602	H.R. 2844 - Continuity in Representation
H.Res. 607	H.R. 4181 - Permanent extension of Marriage Penalty bill
H.Res. 619	H.R. 4227 - Middle-Class Alternative Minimum Tax AMT Relief
H.Res. 637	H.R. 4275 - Permanent Extension of 10% Income Tax Bracket
+H.Res. 638	R,R,C (1 rule for 3 bills-H.R. 4279-FSA/HSA, H.R. 4280-Medical Malpractice
	Reform, H.R.4281-Small Business Association Health Plans AHPs
H.Res. 644	H.R. 4359 - Child Credit Preservation & Expansion Act
+H.Res. 645	C,C,C,C,R (1 rule for 5 bills - H.R. 2728, H.R. 2729, H.R. 2730, H.R. 2731 - OSHA,
	H.R. 2432 - Paperwork reduction
H.Res 648	H.R. 4200 - DOD - National Defense Authorization FY05
+H.Res. 672	R,R (1 rule for 2 bills - H.R. 4513 - Renewable Energy Project Siting Improvement,
	H.R. 4529 - Arctic Coastal Plain & surface Mining Improvement
H.Res. 686	H.R. 4548 - Intelligence Authorization FY05
H.Res. 692	H.R. 4663 - Spending Control Act a.k.a. budget enforcement
H.Res. 706	H.R. 3598 - Manufacturing Technology Competitiveness
H.Res. 707	H.R. 4755 - Legislative Branch FY05 Approps
H.Res. 711	H.R. 2828 - Water Supply, Reliability, & Environmental Improvement a.k.a. CalFed
	water bill
H.Res. 725	H.R. 3574 - Stock Option Accounting Reform
H.Res. 766	H.R. 4571 - Lawsuit Abuse Reduction Act
H.Res. 781	H.R. 2028 - Pledge Protection Act
H.Res. 814	S. 878 - Bankruptcy Judgeship Act
H.Res. 819	H.R. 5212 - FEMA FY05 Supplemental for hurricane storm damage
H.Res. 823	Justice for All Act, a.k.a. Debbie Smith DNA
H.Res. 827	H.R. 10 - 9/11 (Commission) Recommendations Implementation Act

## Open rules in 108<sup>TH</sup> Congress - 28 closed rules reported

<u>1<sup>st</sup> Session - 16 open rules</u> Rule Number Bill Number and Title

H.Res. 172	H.R.1559 - FY03 Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations
H.Res. 219	H.R. 766 - the Nanotechnology Research & Development Act
H.Res. 229	H.R. 1527 - National Transportation Safety Board Reauthorization
H.Res. 256	H.R. 1474 - Check Clearing for the 21st Century Act
H.Res. 293	H.R. 2555 - Department of Homeland Security Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 298	H.R. 2559 - Military Construction Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 312	H.R. 2660 - Labor/HHS/Ed Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 319	H.R. 2691 - Interior & Related Agencies Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 326	H.R. 2799 - Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 327	H.R. 2800 - Foreign Operations, Export Financing Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 334	H.R. 2765 - District of Columbia Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 338	H.R. 2861 - HUD/VA, & Independent Agencies Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 351	H.R. 2989 - Transportation/Treasury Appropriations FY04
H.Res. 396	1 <sup>st</sup> rule - H.R. 3289 - Emergency Supplemental Appropriations FY04 -
	Iraq/Afghanistan
H.Res. 416	H.R. 2443 - Coast Guard & Maritime Transportation
H.Res. 428	H.R. 1829 - Federal Prison Industries Competition in Contracting

<u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session - 12 open rules</u>: Rule Number Bill Number & Title

H.Res. 502	S. 610 - NASA Workforce Flexibility
H.Res. 674	H.R. 4568 - Interior FY05 Appropriations.
H.Res. 675	H.R. 4567 - Homeland Security FY05 Appropriations.
H.Res. 683	H.R. 4613 - Department of Defense FY05 Appropriations - also allows July
	adjournments
H.Res. 694	H.R. 4614 - Energy & Water FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 701	H.R. 4754 - Commerce, Justice, State FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 710	H.R. 4766 - Agriculture, Rural Development, FDA FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 715	H.R. 4818 - Foreign Operations FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 724	H.R. 4850 - District of Columbia FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 732	H.R. 4837 - Military Construction FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 754	H.R. 5006 - Labor/HHS/Education FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 770	H.R. 5025 - Transportation/Treasury FY05 Appropriations

## Rules providing for suspension days - 108th Congress - 5 total rules

- H.Res. 449 Providing for a suspension day on November 20, 2003
- H.Res. 456 Providing for a suspension day on November 21, 2003
- H.Res. 829 Providing for a suspension day on October 7, 2004
- H.Res. 833 Providing for a suspension day on October 8, 2004
- H.Res. 859 Providing for a suspension day on November 19, 2004

### Miscellaneous procedural rules in 108th Congress - 1 rule

H.Res. 377 Recommit to Conference - H.R. 2115 - Conference for Flight - 100 Century of Aviation FAA Reauthorization

## Single rules providing for consideration of multiple bills - 108th Congress - 11 total rules

<u>1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> session - 11 rules:</u> Rule Number Bill Numbers and Descriptions

H.Res. 15	H.J.Res. 1 & H.J.Res. 2 - Continuing Resolutions
H.Res. 258	S. 222 & S. 273 - two defeated suspensions from Resources
H.Res. 299	H.R. 1 & H.R. 2596 - Medicare Rx Drugs/Health Savings Accounts
H.Res. 329	H.R. 2738 & H.R. 2739 - Chili & Singapore Free Trade fast track
H.Res. 638	H.R. 4279, H.R. 4280, & H.R. 4281 - Flexible Spending accounts/HEALTH Act/AHPs
H.Res. 645	H.R. 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, & H.R. 2432 - 4 OSHA weakening bills/paperwork reduction
H.Res. 656	H.R. 444 & added two passed suspensions to bill - H.R. 4409 & H.R. 4411 - back to work accounts and two higher education bills added at end
H.Res. 671	H.R. 4503 & H.R. 4517 - Energy bill/refinery revitalization
H.Res. 672	H.R. 4515 & H.R. 4529 - renewable energy project siting / Arctic Coastal & Surface mining
H.Res. 683	H.R. 4613 - Department of Defense FY05 Appropriations - also allows July adjournment
H.Res. 866	Conference for H.R. 4818 - Foreign Operations FY05 Appropriations - End of year Omnibus with 9 Appropriations & H.J.Res. 114 $2^{nd}$ FY05 C/R (through 12/3/04)

## Appendix II-Complete Listing of Emergency Rules in the 108th Congress

## Emergency Rules granted in 108th Congress- 116 total

## <u>1<sup>st</sup> Session- 62 total:</u>

H.Res.14	S. 23 - To provide for a 5-month extension of the Temporary Extended
	Unemployment Compensation Act of 2002
H.Res.15	1 rule for 2 bills H.J. Res. 1 & H.J. Res. 2 - $6^{\text{th}}$ C/R through 2/1/03 & $7^{\text{th}}$ C/R and
LLD 40/	shell for omnibus
H.Res. 126	H.R. 878 - Armed Forces Tax Fairness
H.Res. 139	H.R. 5 - Help Efficient, Accessible, Low Cost, Timely Healthcare (HEALTH) a.k.a. medical malpractice
H.Res. 151	H. Con. Res. 95 - Concurrent Budget Resolution for FY2004
H.Res. 152	Waiving 2/3rds on March 20, 2003 for H. Con. Res. 95
H.Res. 168	H.R. 743 - Social Security Protection
H.Res. 172	H.R.1559 - FY03 Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations
H.Res. 188	Conference Report on S. 151 - PROTECT Act - a.k.a. AMBER Alert
H.Res. 189	H.R. 6 - Energy Policy Act
H.Res. 190	Waiving 2/3rds on April 10, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
	Conference Report on H. Con. Res. 95
H.Res. 191	Conference Report on H. Con. Res. 95 Concurrent Budget Resolution for FY04
H.Res. 192	Waiving 2/3rds on April 11, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
	Conference Report on H.R. 1559 - Emergency Wartime Supplemental FY03
H.Res. 197	Waiving 2/3rds on April 12, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the
	Conference Report on H.R. 1559 - Emergency Wartime Supplemental FY03
H.Res.227	H.R. 2 - Jobs & Growth Tax Act a.k.a. dividend tax bill
H.Res. 239	H.R. 1904 - Healthy Forests Restoration Act
H.Res. 248	H.R. 2185 - Unemployment Compensation Amendments
H.Res. 249	Waiving 2/3rds on May 22, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the bill H.R. 2,
	Jobs & Growth Tax Act a.k.a. dividend tax bill, any amendment thereto, any
	conference report, or amendment reported in disagreement from a conference
H.Res. 253	Conference Report on H.R. 2 - Jobs & Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation-a.k.a.
	dividend tax bill
H.Res. 258	1 rule for 2 measures - S. 222 - Zuni Indian Tribe Water Rights Settlement & S. 273 -
	Grand Teton National Park Land Exchange
H.Res. 270	Relating to consideration of Senate Amendments to H.R. 1308 - Child Tax
	Credit
H.Res. 282	H.R. 1528 - Taxpayer Protection & IRS Accountability
H.Res. 283	H.R. 660 - Small Business Health Fairness a.k.a. Association Health Plans - AHPs
H.Res. 292	Waiving 2/3rds on June 24, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the bill H.R. 2417 - FY04 Intelligence Reauthorization
H Res 207	Original Jurisdiction H Res 297 Providing for motions to suspend the rules on

H.Res. 297 Original Jurisdiction - H. Res. 297 Providing for motions to suspend the rules on Wednesdays through the end of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

H.Res. 298 H.R. 2559 - Military Construction Appropriations FY04 1 rule, two bills and other miscellaneous issues - H.R. 1 - Medicare Prescription H.Res. 299 Drug and Modernization Act & Health Savings and Affordability a.k.a. medical savings accounts H.R. 2660 - Labor/HHS/Ed Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 312 H.Res. 326 H.R. 2799 - Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 327 H.R. 2800 - Foreign Operations, Export Financing Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 329 1 rule for 2 measures - H.R. 2738 - US-Chile Free Trade Agreement Implementation and H.R. 2739 - US-Singapore Free Trade Agreement Implementation-a.k.a. fast track H.Res. 334 H.R. 2765 - District of Columbia Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 335 H.R. 2427 - Pharmaceutical Market Access a.k.a. drug reimportation H.Res. 338 H.R. 2861 - HUD/VA, & Independent Agencies Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 339 H.R. 2859 - Emergency Supplemental Disaster Relief Appropriations FY03 H.Res. 340 Waiving 2/3rds on July 25, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the bill H.R. 2861 - HUD/VA & Independent Agencies Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 374 Conference Report on H.R. 2555 - Homeland Security Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 377 Recommit to Conference - H.R. 2115 - Conference for Flight - 100 Century of Aviation FAA Reauthorization H.Res. 383 Conference Report on S. 3 - Partial Birth Abortion Ban H.Res. 396 1<sup>st</sup> rule - H.R. 3289-Emergency Supplemental Appropriations FY04 a.k.a. Iraq / Afghanistan 2<sup>nd</sup> rule - H.R. 3289 - Emergency Supplemental Appropriations FY04 a.k.a. Iraq / H.Res. 401 Afghanistan H.J. Res. 73- 2<sup>nd</sup> FY04 C/R through 11/07/03 and shell for omnibus H.Res. 407 H.J. Res. 75 - 3<sup>rd</sup> FY04 C/R through 11/07/03 H.Res. 417 H.Res. 418 Conference Report on H.R.2691 - Interior Appropriations FY04 Waiving 2/3rds on October 30, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the H.Res. 421 conference report on H.R. 3289 - Emergency Supplemental Appropriations FY04 a.k.a. Iraq / Afghanistan Conference Report on H.R. 2115 - Flight 100 - Century of Flight FAA H.Res. 422 Reauthorization H.Res. 424 conference report on H.R. 3289 - Emergency Supplemental Appropriations FY04 a.k.a. Iraq/Afghanistan Conference report on H.R. 2559 - Military Con. Appropriations FY04 H.Res. 429 H.Res. 430 H.J. Res.76 - 4<sup>th</sup> FY04 C/R through 11/21/03 H.Res. 434 Waiving 2/3rds on November 7, 2003 for consideration or disposition of the conference report on H.R. 1588 - National Defense Authorization FY04 H.Res. 437 Conference report on H.R. 1588 - National Defense Authorization FY04 H.Res. 443 Conference report on H.R. 6 - Energy Policy Act Providing for a suspension day on November 20, 2003 - with consultation with H.Res. 449 Minority Leader H.J. Res.78 - 5th FY04 C/R through 11/23/03 H.Res. 450 Conference report on H.R. 2417 - Intelligence Authorization FY04 H.Res. 451 H.Res. 456 Providing for a suspension day on November 21, 2003 - with consultation with Minority Leader H.Res. 457 Conference report on H.R. 1904 - Healthy Forests Restoration H.Res. 458 Waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003 for consideration or disposition of any

joint resolution, bill, amendment or conference report on any FY04 appropriations measure

- H.Res. 459 Waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003 for consideration or disposition of any
- conference report on H.R. 1 Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization
- H.Res. 463 Conference report on H.R. 1 - Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization
- H.J. Res. 80 appointing the day for the convening of the 2<sup>nd</sup> session of 108<sup>th</sup> H.Res. 464
- H.Res. 465 Waiving 2/3rds on or before January 31, 2004 for consideration or disposition of any joint resolution, bill, amendment or conference report on any FY04 appropriations measure

### <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session-54 total:</u>

H.Res. 536	Waiving 2/3rds on February 26, 2004 for consideration or disposition of H.R. 3783 - 2nd temporary highway extension					
H.Res. 574	H. Con. Res. 393 - FY05 Concurrent Budget Resolution					
H.Res. 585	H. Res. 581 - Sense of Congress regarding compensation for civilian employees &					
	members of the uniformed services a.k.a. pay parity					
H.Res. 592	Waiving 2/3rds on April 1, 2004 for consideration or disposition of H.R. 3550 -					
	Transportation Equity Act - TEA-LU					
H.Res. 593	H.R. 3550 - Transportation Equity Act - TEA-LU					
H.Res. 628	H. Res. 627 - Iraqi Prisoner Resolution - deploring treatment of Iraqi Prisoners					
H.Res. 649	Conference for S. Con. Res. 95 - FY05 Concurrent Budget Resolution					
H.Res. 674	H.R. 4568 - Interior FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 675	H.R. 4567 - Homeland Security FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 681	H.R. 4520 - American Jobs Creation Act-a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax					
H.Res. 686	H.R. 4548 - Intelligence Authorization FY05					
H.Res. 692	H.R. 4663 - Spending Control Act a.k.a. budget enforcement					
H.Res. 693	Waiving 2/3rds on June 24, 2004 for consideration of H.R. 4614 for Energy &					
	Water FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 694	H.R. 4614 - Energy and Water FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 706	H.R. 3598 - Manufacturing Technology Competitiveness					
H.Res. 707	H.R. 4755 - Legislative Branch FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 710	H.R. 4766 - Agriculture, Rural Development, FDA FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 711	H.R. 2828 - Water Supply, Reliability, & Environmental Improvement a.k.a. CalFed					
	water bill					
H.Res. 712	H.R. 4759 - US/Australia Free Trade Agreement Implementation					
H.Res. 715	H.R. 4818 - Foreign Operations FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 730	Conference for H.R. 2443 - Coast Guard & Maritime Transportation					
	Reauthorization					
H.Res. 731	Waiving 2/3rds on July 21, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 -					
	Child Tax Credit					
H.Res. 735	Conference for H.R. 4613 - Department of Defense FY05 Appropriations					
H.Res. 738	H.R. 4842 - US-Morocco Free Trade Agreement Implementation					
H.Res. 739	Waiving 2/3rds on July 21, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 -					
	Child Tax Credit					
H.Res. 740	Waiving 2/3rds on July 22, 2004 for consideration of a bill for an extension of the					
	highway authorization bill					
H.Res. 770	H.R. 5025 - Transportation/Treasury FY05 Appropriations					

H.Res. 780	Waiving 2/3rds on September 22, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 - Child Tax Credit - 2nd 2/3rds rule for this conference
H.Res. 785	Waiving 2/3rds on September 23, 2004 for consideration of Conference for H.R. 1308 - Child Tax Credit - 3rd 2/3rds rule for this conference
H.Res. 794	Conference for H.R. 1308 - Child Tax Credit & expiring provisions-middle class tax bill
H.Res. 802	H.J. Res. 107 - 1st C/R for FY05 Appropriations through November 20, 2004
H.Res. 807	Waiving 2/3rds on September 30, 2004 for consideration of a bill to provide an extension of highway bill TEA-21
H.Res. 811	H.R. 5183 - Surface Transportation/Highway Extension #6
H.Res. 819	H.R. 5212 - FEMA FY05 Supplemental for hurricane storm damage
H.Res. 822	Conference for H.R. 4850 - DC FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 823	Justice for All Act, a.k.a. Debbie Smith DNA
H.Res. 827	H.R. 10 - 9/11 (Commission) Recommendations Implementation Act
H.Res. 828	Waiving 2/3rds on October 7, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for
	H.R.4520 - American Jobs Creation Act a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax
H.Res. 829	Providing for a suspension day on October 7, 2004 - with consultation with Minority Leader
H.Res. 830	Conference for H.R.4520 - American Jobs Creation Act a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax
H.Res. 831	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for H.R. 4200 - DOD - National Defense Authorization FY05
H.Res. 832	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for H.R.4837 - Military Construction FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 833	Providing for a suspension day on October 8, 2004 - with consultation with Minority Leader
H.Res. 834	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of the Conference for H.R. 4567 - Homeland Security FY05 Appropriations
H.Res. 843	Conference for H.R. 4200 - DOD - National Defense Authorization FY05
H.Res. 846	Waiving 2/3rds on or before November 20, 2004 for consideration or disposition of any joint resolution, bill, amendment or conference report on any FY05 approps measure
H.Res. 856	S. 2986 - to increase the public debt ceiling
H.Res. 858	Conference for H.R. 1350 - IDEA - Education for Disabled
H.Res. 859	Providing for a suspension day on November 19, 2004 - with consultation with
	Minority Leader
H.Res. 860	Waiving 2/3rds on or before November 20, 2004 for consideration or disposition of
	a conference report on S. 2845 - intelligence reform
H.Res. 861	Waiving 2/3rds on or before November 20, 2004 for consideration or disposition of
	a conference report on H.R. 4548 - FY05 Intelligence Authorization
H.Res. 866	Conference for H.R. 4818 - Foreign Operations FY05 Appropriations - End of year
	Omnibus with 9 Appropriations & H.J. Res. 114 $2^{nd}$ FY05 C/R (through 12/3/04)
H.Res. 868	Waiving 2/3rds on December 7, 2004 for consideration or disposition of a
	conference report on S. 2845 - intelligence reform
H.Res. 870	Conference on S. 2845 - 9/11 Commission Intelligence Reforms

## Appendix III-Complete listing of Previous Question Votes Called by Democrats in the 108th congress

Res #	Bill #	Bill Title	Vote & Date **	Previous Question Offered
1) H.Res. 14	S. 23	Extension of the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 2002 Closed rule	1/8/2003 H72-4 roll #5 224-196	<b>Slaughter-</b> Makes in order Rangel Substitute - Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act (extend unemployment benefits by 26 weeks instead of 13 & provide an additional 13 weeks to those who exhausted extended benefits last year).
2) H.Res. 15	H.J.Res.1 & 2 (6 <sup>th</sup> & 7 <sup>th</sup> C/R)	2 Continuing Resolutions for FY2003 H.J.Res 1 C/R through 2/1/03 & H.J.Res.2 was shell for omnibus bill Closed rule	1/08/03 H96-97 roll #8 225-198	<b>McGovern-</b> would waive section 302 <sup>©</sup> ) of the Congressional Budget Act against the motions to recommit. (302 <sup>©</sup> ) prohibits consideration of an appropriations bill and amendments before the filing of 302(b) suballocations it <i>was</i> waived against the two resolutions only).
3) H.Res. 139	H.R. 5	Help Efficient, Accessible, Low Cost, Timely Healthcare (HEALTH) Act of 2003 (a.k.a. Medical Malpractice) Closed rule	3/13/03 roll #61 225-201	Hastings (FL)-makes in order Conyers/Dingell substitute to allow a comprehensive approach to the rising insurance rates for malpractice insurance.
4) H.Res. 160	H.R. 1104	The Child Abduction Prevention Act of 2003 ( <b>a.k.a. AMBER plus)</b> Restrictive rule	3/26/03 roll #86 218-198	<b>Frost</b> - provide that immediately after the House passes the Child Abduction Prevention Act, it will take up S. 121 the Senate passed version of the AMBER Alert legislation (in the House under a closed rule).

## Previous Question Fights in the 108th Congress

5) H.Res. 168	H.R. 743	Social Security Protection Act of 2003 a.k.a. Texas Teachers	4/02/03 roll #99 245-177	<b>Frost-</b> makes in order the Doggett substitute amendment to reduce the Government Pension Offset of Social Security spousal and survivors benefits from two-thirds to one-third of the government pension. It would hold the trust funds harmless for the cost of this benefit improvement by making annual transfers from the general funds to the Social Security Trust Funds.
		Restrictive rule		
6) H.Res. 172	H.R. 1559	Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations Act FY2003	4/03/03 roll #103 221-200	<b>Frost</b> -makes in order Obey Homeland Security Amendments to add \$2.5 billion (3% increase to bill) to protect military facilities; for nuclear security; for port and infrastructure security; and for state and local first responders.
		Open rule		
7) H.Res. 189	H.R. 6	Energy Policy Act of 2003	4/10/03	<b>Slaughter-</b> makes in order the 40 Democratic and bipartisan amendments not allowed by the Republican Rules Committee.
			roll #130	
		Restrictive rule	226-202	
8) H.Res. 221	H.R. 1261	Workforce Reinvestment & Adult Education Act of 2003 (a.k.a. WIA)	5/08/03	<b>McGovern-</b> makes in order Van Hollen amendment to restore current law which prohibits the use of Federal funds to discriminate in hiring based on religion. Strikes the offending provision from the
		Restrictive rule	222-199	bill.
9)				<u> </u>
H.Res. 227	H.R. 2	Jobs & Growth Reconciliation Tax Act of 2003 (a.k.a. 2003 dividend tax)	5/09/03 roll #178 219-203	<b>Frost-</b> makes in order Rangel Democratic Substitute-"Rebuilding America Through Jobs", to extend unemployments benefits, expand the child tax credit, provide assistance to state and local government, & offer job creating incentives for businesses. The substitute is fully paid for.
		Closed rule		

10) H.Res. 230	H.R. 1000	Pension Security Act of 2003 Restrictive rule	5/14/03 roll #186 218-201	<b>Slaughter</b> -provide that immediately after the House passes the Pension Security Act, it will take up H.R. 1652, the Rangel-Cardin Unemployment Benefits Extension Act to extend Federal Unemployment benefits by 26 weeks and give an additional 13 weeks to those whose benefits have run out. (in the House under a closed rule).
11) H.Res. 229	H.R. 1527	National Transportation Safety Board Reauthorization Act of 2003 Open rule	5/15/03 roll #190 220-205	<b>McGovern</b> -provide that immediately after the House passes the National Transportation Safety Board Reauthorization Act, it will take up H.R. 1652, the Rangel-Cardin Unemployment Benefits Extension Act to extend Federal Unemployment benefits by 26 weeks and give an additional 13 weeks to those whose benefits have run out. (in the House under a closed rule).
12) H.Res. 245 1 <sup>st</sup> rule	H.R. 1588	National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004 Restrictive rule	5/21/03 roll #201 225-203	McGovern-makes in order the Rahall/Dingell amendment which strikes anti-environmental provisions in the bill relating to ESA (Endangered Species Act) & MMPA (Marine Mammal Protection Act).

13) H.Res. 247 2 <sup>nd</sup> rule	H.R. 1588	National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004 <b>Restrictive rule</b>	5/22/03 roll #207 224-198	<b>Frost</b> -makes in order Cooper/Davis(IL)/VanHollen amendment bill of rights amendment for civilian employees of the Department of Defense.
14) H.Res. 248	H.R. 2185	Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 2003 Closed rule	5/22/03 roll #213 217-203	<b>McGovern-</b> makes in order as a substitute text of H.R. 1652, the Rangel-Cardin Unemployment Benefits Extension Act to extend Federal Unemployment benefits by 26 weeks and give an additional 13 weeks to those whose benefits have run out.
15) H.Res. 249	Martial Law on H.R. 2 Conference report	waiving 2/3rds Conference Report for Jobs and Growth Tax Act a.k.a. dividend tax bill	5/22/03 roll #211 221-202	<b>Frost-</b> provide that immediately after the House passes H.Res. 249 it will immediately consider H.R. 2046, the Rangel Democratic "Rebuilding America Through Jobs", to extend unemployments benefits, expand the child tax credit, provide assistance to state and local government, & offer job creating incentives for businesses. The bill is fully paid for.
		Procedural rule	1 Dem yes	
16) H.Res. 253	H.R. 2 Conference Report	Conference Report for Jobs and Growth Tax Act <b>a.k.a. dividend tax bill</b> Conference Report	5/22/03 roll #224 221-205	<b>Frost-</b> provide that immediately after the House passes the conference report it will immediately consider H.R.2156 to allow a temporary increase in the debt ceiling and require a balanced budget before the end of the fiscal year.
17) H.Res. 256	H.R. 1474	Check Clearing for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century a.k.a. Check 21 Open rule	6/5/03 roll #243 220-198 <b>1 Rep no</b>	<b>McGovern-</b> provide that immediately after the House passes H.R. 1474 it will immediately consider H.R.2286 the Working Families Tax Credit Act to restore refundable child tax credit and help military families.

18) H.Res. 258 1 rule providing for 2 bills both closed	S. 222 & S. 273	Zuni Indian Tribe Water Rights Settlement & Grand Teton National Park Land Exchange <b>two failed suspension</b> <b>bills</b> Closed rule	6/5/03 roll #244 220-194	<b>McGovern-</b> provide that immediately after the House passes H.Res. 258 it will immediately consider H.R.2286 the Working Families Tax Credit Act to restore refundable child tax credit and help military families.
19) H.Res. 263	H.R. 2143	Unlawful Internet Gambling Funding Prohibition Restrictive rule	6/10/03 roll #252 222-196	<b>Hastings (FL)</b> -provide that immediately after the House passes H.R. 2143 it will immediately take from the Speaker's table the Senate passed version of H.R. 1308 which restores the refundable child tax credit which was removed at the last minute from the Republican tax bill H.R. 2.
20) H.Res. 265	H.R. 2115	Flight 100-Century of Aviation FAA Reauthorization Act Restrictive rule	6/11/03 roll #257 219-195	<b>McGovern-</b> provide that immediately after the House passes H.R. 2143 it will immediately take from the Speaker's table the Senate passed version of H.R. 1308 which restores the refundable child tax credit which was removed at the last minute from the Republican tax bill H.R. 2.
21) H.Res. 269	H.R. 1115	Class Action Fairness Act of 2003 Restrictive rule	6/12/03 roll #265 229-193 <b>4 Dem yes</b>	<b>Frost-</b> makes in order two additional amendments 1) Conyers/Delahunt to delete bill's retroactive provisions and 2) Delahunt/Scott (VA) to prevent corporations from using interlocutory appeals to run out the clock on class action lawsuits.

22) H.Res. 270 self- executing provision	consideration of Senate amendment on H.R. 1308	Concur in Senate Amendment and provide motion to go to conference on Tax Relief, Simplification, and Equity Act of 2003 a.k.a. child tax credit	6/12/03 roll #273 225-201	<b>Frost-</b> provide that immediately after the House passes H.Res. 270 it will 1) immediately take from the Speaker's table the Senate passed version of H.R. 1308 which restores the refundable child tax credit which was removed at the last minute from the Republican tax bill H.R. 2 and 2) immediately after the House passes H.R. 1308 it will take from the Speaker's table the Senate passed version of H.R. 1307 the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act.
23)		Closed rule		
H.Res. 276	S. 342 Conference Report (HR14)	Conference report on Keeping Children and Families Safe Act <b>a.k.a. Child</b> <b>Abuse Prevention reauthorization</b>	6/17/03 roll #279 226-200	<b>Hastings (FL)</b> -provide that immediately after the House passes the conference report it will immediately take from the Speaker's table the Senate passed version of H.R. 1307 the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act and add to it the Senate passed version of H.R. 1308 which restores the refundable child tax credit which was removed at the last minute from the Republican tax bill.
		Conference Report Rule		
24) H.Res. 281	H.R. 8	The Death Tax Repeal Permanency Act of 2003-a.k.a. estate tax	6/18/03	<b>Slaughter</b> -make in order Pomeroy deficit neutral substitute (the same as the one made in order under the rule but with offsets)
		Restrictive rule	roll #284 227-200	
25) H.Res. 283	H.R. 660	The Small Business Health Fairness Act of 2003-a.k.a. Association Health Plans AHPs	6/19/03 roll #289 224-198	<b>Frost-</b> provide that immediately after the House passes H.R. 660 it will immediately take from the Speaker's table the Senate passed version of H.R. 1307 the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act and add to it the Senate passed version of H.R. 1308 which restores the refundable child tax credit which was removed at the last minute from the Republican tax bill.
		Restrictive rule		

26) H.Res. 293	H.R. 2555	The Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act, FY2004	6/24/03 roll #301 221-196	<b>Frost-</b> makes in order 1) amendment by Rep. Edwards (TX) to prohibit the use of funds for the Office of Air and Marine Interdiction of the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement to support federal, state, or local law enforcement or humanitarian efforts <i>until</i> the Secretary of Homeland Security implements written procedures for the use of personnel and resources for any non-emergency use of Homeland Security services <b>and</b> 2) amendment by Rep. Jackson-Lee to provide that none of the funds in the bill may be used for political purposes or any other purpose not related to protecting homeland security.
27)		Open rule		
H.Res. 299 1 rule two bills & other misc. items	H.R. 1 & H.R. 2596	The Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization Act of 2003 and Health Savings & Affordability Act of 2003 a.k.a medical savings accounts Restrictive & Closed rule	6/26/03 roll #321 226-203 1 Dem yes 1 Rep no	<b>Slaughter-</b> make in order Rep. Dooley Substitute to H.R. 1- Prescription Drug Bill-would cover all senior citizens under Part B of Medicare with no premium increase.

28) H.Res. 298	H.R. 2559	Military Construction Appropriations Act, FY2004 <b>Open rule</b>	6/26/03 roll #324 220-200	<b>McGovern-</b> makes in order Rep. Obey amendment to add approximately \$1 billion for military housing for service members and their families. The Obey amendment would be paid for by reducing, from \$88,326 to \$83,326, the amount that the 200,000 households in the country with incomes over \$1 million would get from their 2004 tax cut.
29) H.Res. 312	H. <b>R</b> . 2660	Labor/Health & Human Services, and Education, and related Agencies FY04 Appropriations Open rule	7/09/03 roll #341 223-200	<b>Slaughter-</b> makes in order two amendments by Ranking Member Obey. The amendments would (1) restore critical funding to the many areas the Republican bill short-changes (education; health care; efforts to combat the threat of bioterrorism; biomedical research; Low Income Home Energy Assistance (LIHEAP); Social Security; programs for the elderly; and programs for the disabled), and (2) restore cuts to states for their child health care programs under Medicaid and SCHIP (the State Child Health Insurance Program). Each of these amendments would be paid for by a small percentage of the recent tax break for Americans making over \$1 million a year.
30) H.Res. 319	H. <b>R</b> . 2691	Interior Appropriations FY04 Open rule	7/16/03 roll #371 219-199	<b>Slaughter</b> -makes in order an amendment by Ranking Member Obey that would keep Congress' promise to conservation programs by adding \$569 million in conservation funding. The Obey amendment is paid for by a 3.2% reduction in the tax cut for individuals with incomes above \$1 million.

31) H.Res. 326	H.R. 2799	Commerce/Justice/State Appropriations FY04 <b>Open rule</b>	7/22/04 roll #401 221-199 <b>1 Dem yes</b>	Frost-makes in order a Sense-of-Congress amendment by Ranking Rules Member Frost that would urge the Department of Justice to adopt a so-called "DeLay Rule," to ensure that the Department's personnel and resources not be used for political purposes (with respect to May 12, 2003 Texas search for Democratic legislators)
32) H.Res. 329 <b>1 rule two</b> bills <u>The</u> <u>previous</u> <u>question</u> <u>was a</u> <u>protest vote</u> <u>with no text</u>	H.R. 2738 & H.R. 2739	US-Chile Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act & US-Singapore Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act two fast track measures done in one rule to shorten debate time	7/23/03 roll #413 226-200 2 Dem yes (Hastings voted yes but only to be able to move the motion to reconsider the vote)	Hastings (FL)-vote only-no text- the vote was to protest the Republican Leadership refusal to schedule a meeting of the Child Tax Credit Conference or adopt the Senate Child Tax Credit bill, which overwhelmingly passed the Senate by a margin of 94 -2. Democrats called for protest votes throughout the day to demand that the House not leave for the August recess until Congress provides a child tax credit for military and working families.
33) H.Res. 335 <u>The</u> <u>previous</u> <u>question</u> <u>was a</u> <u>protest vote</u> <u>with no text</u>	H.R. 2427	Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 a.k.a. drug reimportation Closed rule	7/24/03 roll #439 417-10 <b>192 Dem y</b> <b>10 Dem n</b> All R y	<b>Slaughter-</b> <u>vote only-no text</u> - the vote was to protest the Republican Leadership refusal to schedule a meeting of the Child Tax Credit Conference or adopt the Senate Child Tax Credit bill, which overwhelmingly passed the Senate by a margin of 94 -2. <b>Democrats called for protest votes throughout the day</b> to demand that the House not leave for the August recess until Congress provides a child tax credit for military and working families.

(Vacated vote) H.Res. 336	H.R. 2210	School Readiness Act of 2003 a.k.a. Head Start reauthorization	7/24/03	<u>vote was vacated</u>
The previous question was a protest vote with no text		Restrictive rule		
34) H.Res. 339	H.R. 2859	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Disaster Relief Act for FY03	7/25/03 roll #448 219-200	<b>McGovern-</b> makes in order an amendment offered by Ranking Member Obey to add \$100 million for AmeriCorps to save some 20,000 volunteer positions from being eliminated
		Restrictive rule		
35) H.Res. 351	H.R. 2989	Transportation, Treasury, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act for FY04	9/4/03 roll #463 240-173	<u>non-Rules</u> Matheson-to prevent Members from getting the FY2004 COLA
		Open rule	R 128-92 D 112-80	

36) H.Res. 396 <b>1<sup>st</sup> rule</b>	H.R. 3289	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Defense & the Reconstruction of Iraq & Afghanistan for FY04	10/16/03 roll #544 221-202 (1 R present)	<b>Frost</b> -makes in order an Obey substitute to take \$4.6 billion from the Iraq reconstruction portion of the bill and add this amount to programs that enhance the quality of life for active and reserve forces and their families including health care and personal assistance. The substitute would also add funds to repair and replace equipment used in operations; allow the Army to increase the number of active duty troops from 480,000 to 500,000; and construct water treatment facilities for our troops in Iraq. (2) create accountability by requiring a detailed report from the President describing how funds in the previous supplemental have been spent, how funds appropriated in this bill will be spent, and the level and types of funding needed for future military and reconstruction initiatives; (3) convert \$7 billion to loans at a trust fund at the World Bank to leverage additional Work Bank loans; and (4) pay for the entire \$87 billion bill by canceling the tax rate cut for individuals with incomes in the top 1%.
37) H.Res. 401 <b>2<sup>nd</sup> rule</b>	H.R. 3289	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Defense & the Reconstruction of Iraq & Afghanistan for FY04 Closed rule	10/17/03 roll #559 221-199 (1 R present)	<b>Frost-</b> make in order Senate passed amendment to concert \$10 billion of Iraqi reconstruction funds into loans.

38)				
H.Res. 422	H.R. 2115	Conference Report for Flight 100 - Century of Aviation Reauthorization Act-FAA Reauthorization	10/30/03 roll #586 222-199	<b>McGovern-</b> self-execute a concurrent resolution instructing the enrolling clerk to make the following changes to the conference report: 1) insert the language in the Senate-passed FAA bill that would prohibit the privatization of the air traffic control system, 2) strike the cabotage language in the bill that would allow foreign airlines to carry cargo between cities in Alaska and other cities in the U.S 3) restore the mandatory TSA security and antiterrorism training guidelines for flight attendants that was in the House-passed version of the FAA bill, and 4) delete the requirement for certain communities to pay a local share for essential air service.
39)		I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I		
H.Res. 443	H.R. 6	Conference Report for the Energy Policy Act of 2003	11/18/03	<b>Frost</b> -modify the rule so it does not waive Clause 8(a)(l)(A) of Rule XXII which states that "it shall not be in order to consider a
			roll #628 225-193	conference report until the third calendar day on which the conference report and the accompanying joint explanatory statement have been available to Members in the Congressional Record." This would give Members 3 days to read the 1000 page conference
			4Dems-yes	
		Conference Report rule		

40) H.Res. 458	waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003	Same day consideration of rules on any Appropriations amendments, joint resolutions, and/or conference reports	11/21/03 roll #661 225-201	<b>Frost</b> provides that immediately after the House passes H.Res. 458 it will consider H.R. 3568 legislation that would continue to extend unemployment benefits through the first six months of next year and increase to 26 weeks the amount of benefits provided under that program - up from 13 weeks (and help the 1.4 million workers who have already exhausted their extended benefits). This bill is identical to H.R. 3244, the Rangel/Cardin unemployment extension, and it also contains the text of H.R. 3554 by Rep. McDermott which would fix a flaw in current law that prevents those States with exceptionally high, long-term unemployment rates from continuing to receive extra benefits.
		Procedural rule		
41) H.Res. 459	waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003 for CF for H.R. 1	Same Day consideration for the Conference Report on the Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization Act 0f 2003	11/21/03 roll #659 225-201	<b>Slaughter</b> -modify the rule so it does not waive Clause 8(a)(l)(A) of Rule XXII which states that "it shall not be in order to consider a conference report until the third calendar day on which the conference report and the accompanying joint explanatory statement have been available to Members in the Congressional Record." This would give Members 3 days to read the 1000 page conference
		Procedural rule		

42) H.Res. 463	CF for H.R. 1	Conference Report on the Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization Act 0f 2003 Conference report rule	11/21/03 roll #665 228-203	<b>Slaughter</b> -modify the rule so it does not waive Clause 8(a)(l)(A) of Rule XXII which states that "it shall not be in order to consider a conference report until the third calendar day on which the conference report and the accompanying joint explanatory statement have been available to Members in the Congressional Record." This would give Members 3 days to read the 1000 page conference
43) H.Res. 465	waiving 2/3rds on any day from November 22, 2003 through January 31, 2004 for any approps. item	Same day consideration for any FY04 appropriations item on or before January 31, 2004	12/08/03 roll #672 211-179 1 Dem yes	<b>Slaughter</b> provides that immediately after the House passes H.Res. 465 it will consider H.R. 3568 legislation that would continue to extend unemployment benefits through the first six months of next year and increase to 26 weeks the amount of benefits provided under that program - up from 13 weeks (and help the 1.4 million workers who have already exhausted their extended benefits). This bill is identical to H.R. 3244, the Rangel/Cardin unemployment extension, and it also contains the text of H.R. 3554 by Rep. McDermott which would fix a flaw in current law that prevents those States with exceptionally high, long-term unemployment rates from continuing to receive extra benefits.

44) H.Res. 473	CF for H.R. 2673	Conference report on Agriculture Appropriations for FY04-also is the vehicle for the FY04 Omnibus Appropriations bill	12/08/03 roll #675 216-189 1 Dem yes 1 Rep no	<b>Frost</b> provides that immediately after the House passes the conference on H.R. 2673 it will consider H.R. 3568 legislation that would continue to extend unemployment benefits through the first six months of next year and increase to 26 weeks the amount of benefits provided under that program - up from 13 weeks (and help the 1.4 million workers who have already exhausted their extended benefits). This bill is identical to H.R. 3244, the Rangel/Cardin unemployment extension, and it also contains the text of H.R. 3554 by Rep. McDermott which would fix a flaw in current law that prevents those States with exceptionally high, long-term unemployment rates from continuing to receive extra benefits.
		<u>End of 1<sup>st</sup> session of 108<sup>th</sup> Congress</u>		

		2 <sup>nd</sup> Session of 108 <sup>th</sup> Congress		
45) H.Res. 520	Concur in Senate amendment to H.R. 743	Social Security Protection Act a.k.a. Texas Teachers	2/11/04 roll #22 226-197 1 Rep no 1 Dem yes	<b>Frost-</b> 1) strike Section 218, the portion of the bill that prevents certain public employees from receiving the full amount of their deceased spouse's Social Security survivor benefits – benefits to which they are otherwise entitled and 2) add to the base bill (H.R. 743), the text of H.R. 594, the Social Security Fairness Act which will once and for all eliminate the pension offsets that so unfairly diminish the retirement benefits of our valued public employees (H.R. 594 is a broadly bipartisan bill that has 285 co-sponsors)
		Closed rule		
46) H.Res. 561	H.Res. 557	Relating to the liberation of the Iraqi people and the valiant service of the United States Armed Forces and Coalition forces	3/17/04 roll #62 217-196	<b>Hastings (FL)</b> -add a motion to recommit with instructions that would add the following:urges the President to: take all steps necessary to ensure that all members of the U.S. Armed Forces serving in Iraq receive the best force protection equipment available; ensure that all members of the Armed Forces who are injured while serving in Iraq receive complete, timely and high-quality health care; address the disparity that exists for many Reserve and Guard personnel between the pay they receive in civilian life and the military compensation they receive when ordered to active duty; acknowledge that there were serious deficiencies in the U.S. pre-war intelligence on Iraq and to take steps to improve these deficiencies; request sufficient funding immediately to fully support U.S. military operations in Iraq and the surrounding region; obtain far-reaching international participation in the securing, reconstruction, and political development of Iraq; and take steps to correct the failure of the U.S. government to plan adequately for the post-war occupation of Iraq; Expresses deep sorrow and regret for the deaths of more than 550 and the wounding of more than 5,300 members of the U.S. Armed Force; Expresses sorrow and regret for the deaths in Iraq of U.S. civilians, UN personnel, unknown numbers of Iraqi civilians, and other noncombatants.
		Closed rule		

47) H.Res. 574	H.Con.Res. 393	FY05 Concurrent Budget Resolution Restrictive rule	3/25/04 roll #84 222-201	<b>Frost</b> -make in order an amendment that would extend the "pay-as- you-go" budget enforcement to both mandatory spending and tax cuts
48) H.Res. 580	H.R. 3966	ROTC and Military Recruiter Equal Access to Campus Act of 2004 Closed rule	3/30/04 roll #98 223-202	<b>McGovern</b> -provides that immediately after the House passes H.R. 3966 it will consider a bill to extend Federal unemployment benefits through September 2004
49) H.Res. 593	H.R. 3550	Transportation Equity Act for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century (TEA-LU) <b>a.ka Federal</b> <b>Highway/surface transportation</b> <b>reauthorization</b>	4/1/04 roll #105 229-194 5 Rep no 14 Dem y	<b>Frost</b> -make in order the the Lincoln Davis / Menendez / Blumenauer / Baird Amendment that would increase highway and transit investment by \$37.8 billion, a evel equal to that of the Senate- passed bill. The amendment includes the Senate-passed Highway Trust Fund financing mechanisms (no gas tax increase) and offsets these investments by cracking down on abusive tax shelters, preventing American corporations from avoiding paying U.S. taxes by moving to a foreign country, and extending customs-user fees.
		Restrictive rule		
50) H.Res. 602	H.R. 2844	Continuity in Representation Act of 2003 a.k.a. continuity in Congress Restrictive rule	4/22/04 roll #126 210-198	<b>Frost</b> -provide that immediately after the House passes H.R. 2844, it will take up H.J.Res. 83, pursuant to the text of H.Res. 572, legislation to amend the Constitution to provide for an emergency procedure to keep the House of Representatives working should a significant majority of this House be killed or incapacitated due to a terrorist attack.

51) H.Res. 619	H.R. 4227	Middle-Class Alternative Minimum Tax Relief Act of 2004 <b>a.k.a. AMT</b> Restrictive rule	5/5/04 roll #142 220-200	Hastings (FL)-make in order Baird Sales Tax Equity amendment to allow taxpayers who itemize their deductions the option of deducting state income tax or state sales taxes in a given year.
52) H.Res. 628	H.Res. 627	Iraqi Prisoner Resolution Closed rule	5/6/04 roll #147 218-201	<b>McGovern-</b> make in order a Skelton amendment affirming the need for bipartisan Congressional investigations into these allegations of abuse, including those by U.S. civilian contractor personnel or other U.S. civilians, and into chain of command and other deficiencies that contributed to such abuse.
53) H.Res. 637	H.R. 4275	Permanent Extension of 10% Income Tax Bracket Restrictive rule	5/12/04 roll #156 221-203 2 Rep no	<b>Frost-</b> make in order text of Brady (TX) bill H.R. 720 which would allow taxpayers who itemize their deductions the option to deduct their state income tax or sales taxes paid in a given year (similar to vote #142).
54) H.Res. 638 <b>3-bill rule</b>	H.R. 4279, H.R. 4280, & H.R. 4281	<ol> <li>to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for the disposition of unused health benefits in cafeteria plans and flexible spending arrangements</li> <li>The H.EA.L.T.H Act of 2004- medical malpractice liability</li> <li>The Small Business Health Fairness Act of 2004-AHPs</li> <li>Closed rule (Med mal)</li> <li>Restrictive rules</li> </ol>	5/12/04 roll #157 222-202	<b>Slaughter-</b> adds two more bills to be considered under the rule: 1) H.R. 2427 bipartisan, drug re-importation legislation and 2) H.R. 3672 which would amend the Medicare Prescription Drug Act to provide for negotiation of fair prices for Medicare prescription drugs.

55)				
H.Res. 649	S.Con.Res. 95 Conference Report (H.Con.Res. 393	Conference on FY05 Concurrent Budget Resolution	5/19/04 roll #191 220-204	McGovern-would allow a separate vote on the increase of the statutory debt limit, last year, the GOP adopted the Hastert Rule to automatically pass a Joint Resolution in the House to raise the debt limit upon approval of the Budget Conference Report. Therefore, a vote to support the GOP Budget Conference Report is a vote to increase the debt limit up to \$8.074 trillion.
		Conference Report rule		
56) H.Res. 648	H.R. 4200	National Defense Authorization Act for FY05	5/19/04 roll #193 220-204	<b>Frost-</b> to allow consideration of an amendment by Rep. Spratt that would provide \$414 million for targeted pay raises, reimbursement of life insurance premiums for service members that are in imminent danger, three Marine Corps' troop protection unfunded requirements, and improvements to the PAC-3 ballistic missile defense system. These increases would be offset by targeted cuts to four ballistic missile defense (BMD) program elements, the Ground-based Midcourse Defense system, BMD Products, BMD Technology, and the BMD Systems Interceptor.
57) H.Res 657	H.J.Res. 83	Restrictive rule Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States regarding the appointment of individuals to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives Closed rule	6/2/04 roll #213 215-195	McGovern-no text, protest vote on unfair, closed rule

58)				
H.Res 656	H.R. 444	Back to Work Incentive Act of 2003	6/2/04	Slaughter-makes in order Ryan (OH) amendment to authorize state
			roll #217	grants to hire and train 100,000 new first responders.
			220 40 (	
			220-196	
		Closed rule	1Dem - y	
59) H.Res. 671	H.R. 4503 &	Energy Policy Act	6/15/04	McGovern-vote only, no text
	H.R. 4517	Refinery Revitalization	roll #236	
1 rule for 2			218-197	
bills		Both bills done under Closed rules	1Rep - n	
60) H.Res. 672	H.R. 4513 & H.R. 4529	Renewable Energy Project Siting Improvement	6/15/04	Hastings (FL)-vote only, no text
	11111 102)	-	roll #238	
1 rule for 2 bills		Arctic Coastal Plain & Surface Mining Improvement	221-198	
		Both bills done under Restrictive rules		
61)				
H.Res. 675	H.R. 4567	Homeland Security Appropriations FY05	6/16/04	<b>Slaughter</b> -makes in order Obey amendment to provide an additional \$3 billion to the Department of Homeland Security for a contingent
		Open rule	roll #243	emergency reserve fund.
			224-205	
62)				
H.Res. 681	H.R. 4520	American Jobs Creation Act of 2004 a.k.a. FSC /EIT Tax (foreign sales)	6/17/04	<b>McGovern-</b> makes in order Lantos/McGovern amendment that give a tax credit to those employers who continue to pay activated Guard
		anna 100 / EIT Tax (loteign sales)	roll #256	and Reserve employees.
		Closed rule	222 102	
			233-193 8Dem-y	

63) H.Res. 683 (contained self- executing provision to increase debt ceiling)	H.R. 4613	Department of Defense Appropriations FY05 <b>Open rule</b>	6/22/04 roll #279 220-196	<b>Frost-</b> to strike from the rule the self-executing provision in the Rule that is a backdoor attempt to increase the debt ceiling. This unrelated self-executing provision would allow for an increase in the debt ceiling by almost \$690 billion for the next fiscal year (and a national statutory debt limit of \$8 trillion)
64) H.Res. 686	H.R. 4548	Intelligence Authorization for FY2005	6/23/04 roll #286	<b>Slaughter-</b> makes in order the amendment by Representative Peterson (MN) to fully fund the counterterrorism needs of the intelligence community by increasing by 100% the funds authorized in the Contingency Emergency Reserve
		Restrictive rule	217-197	

65) H.Res. 692	H.R. 4663	Spending Control Act of 2004 a.k.a. budget enforcement control Restrictive rule	6/24/04 roll #302 217-197	Slaughter-makes in order Stenholm/ Matheson/Thompson(CA)/Hill/Moore/Tanner Substitute. Reinstates for two years the provisions of the Budget Enforcement Act which expired in 2002. Provides for a pay-as-you-go rule for legislation that would increase the deficit and set discretionary spending limits. The discretionary spending limits would be set at the levels proposed in the Presidents budget for two years, with separate categories for highway and mass transit funding to reflect the House- passed transportation bill. A separate vote would be required to consider legislation that would increase the discretionary spending limits or waive the pay-as-you-go requirement. Makes amendments to the Budget Act to apply budget act points of order to unreported legislation and provide more information regarding budget act waivers
66) H.Res. 694	H.R. 4614	Energy & Water Appropriations FY05 Open rule	6/25/04 roll #320 209-182	<b>McGovern</b> -allow amendment by Rep.Eshoo to require that Federal Energy Regulatory Commission order refunds whenever sellers of electricity charge rates that are not just and reasonable. It also requires FERC to order refunds stemming from the market manipulation that occurred in the California and Pacific Northwest in 2000 and 2001. It requires FERC to disclose documents and evidence that it has obtained in its investigation of Enron and manipulation in the Western Energy market, and it requires FERC to allow states to fully participate in FERC proceedings and negotiations on market manipulation.
67) H.Res. 711	H.R. 2828	Water Supply, Reliability, & Environmental Improvement a.k.a. CalFed water bill Restrictive rule	7/9/04 roll #350 216-180 2Dem-y	<b>McGovern-</b> allow amendment that during consideration of H.R. 2828, a record vote by electronic device shall not be held open for the sole purpose of reversing the outcome of a vote.

68)				
H.Res. 732	H.R. 4837	Military Construction FY05	7/21/04	Frost-allow amendment to protect from a point of order a provision
		Appropriations		in the bill to lift the cap on the military housing privatization program that provides housing for 50,000 military families.
			roll #400	that provides nousing for 50,000 minitary ramines.
		Open rule		
			217-197	
			1Rep-n	
69)				
H.Res. 754	H.R. 5006	Labor/HHS/Education FY05	9/8/04	Slaughter-allow amendment by Rep. Obey to increase funding for
		Appropriations		programs and services throughout the bill that are insufficiently funded by the bill. It pays for these increases totaling \$7.364 billion
			roll #424	by scaling back the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts for those with incomes
		Open rule		above \$1 million. Under this amendment, their average tax cut
			209-190	would go from \$127,000 to \$89,000

70) H.Res. 770	H.R. 5025	Transportation, Treasury, and Independent Agencies FY05 Appropriations <b>Open rule</b> (rule did not grant any waivers to the bill)	9/14/04 roll #451 235-170 91Rep-n 114D em-y	<b><u>non-Rules</u> Matheson-</b> to prevent Members from getting the FY2005 COLA Member in favor of a COLA voted yes Members opposing a COLA voted no
71) H.Res. 785	waiving 2/3rds on September 23, 2004 for conference on H.R. 1308	waiving 2/3rds on Conference Report on Working Families Tax Relief Act of 2004 a.k.a. Child Tax Credit Procedural rule	9/23/04 roll #469 211-196	<b>Slaughter</b> -instruct the enrolling clerk to fix conference to allow low- income military families for five years (instead of the two in the bill) to count combat pay as income for both the child tax credit and the earned income tax credit (EITC)
72) H.Res. 794	Conference on H.R. 1308	Conference Report on Working Families Tax Relief Act of 2004 a.k.a. Child Tax Credit Conference report rule	9/23/04 roll #470 212-193	<b>Slaughter</b> -instruct the enrolling clerk to fix conference to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for the cost of the bill by rolling back part of the tax breaks for those with incomes exceeding \$1 million annually
73) H.Res. 814	S. 878	Bankruptcy Judgeship Act-a bill to create additional Federal judgeships Restrictive rule	10/5/04 roll #490 198-171	Slaughter-vote only, no text
74) H.Res. 819	H.R. 5212	FY05 Supplemental Appropriations for additional disaster assistance relating to storm damage <b>a.k.a. hurricane</b> <b>Restrictive rule</b>	10/7/04 roll #499 216-186	Hastings (FL)-make in order Stenholm Amendment to provide natural disaster assistance to farmers without cutting crucial farm conservation programs.

75) H.Res. 843	Conference on H.R. 4200	Department of Defense Authorization for FY05	10/8/04 roll #524 225-175 5Rep-n	<b>Non-rules Taylor</b> - instruct the enrolling clerk to amend the conference report to reinsert language that was in the House passed bill that would postpone the 2005 round of base closures and realignments until 2007.
		Conference report rule	19D-y	
76) H.Res. 856	S. 2986	To amend title 31, USC, to increase the public debt limit <b>a.k.a. raise debt</b> <b>ceiling</b> <b>Closed rule</b>	11/18/04 roll #534 205-191	<b>Slaughter-</b> to allow consideration of an amendment that would reinstate the pay-as-you-go (PAYGO) budget enforcement rules that were effective in the 1990s to maintain responsible budgetary discipline.

\*\*votes are straight party line votes unless otherwise noted

## Appendix IV-Complete List and Descriptions of all Rules Reported in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

108<sup>th</sup> Congress statistics

Floor Procedure in th	e 108th Congress	s 1st Session; Com	piled by the	<b>Rules Committee</b>

Democ	Democrats					
BILL #	TITLE	RESOLUTION #	PROCESS USED FOR FLOOR CONSIDERATION	AMENDMENTS IN ORDER		
S. 23 1/7/03 *8:30 pm E NR PQ Closed rule	To Provide for a 5-month extension of the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 2002 and for a transition period for individuals receiving compensation when the program under such Act ends. Ways & Means	H.Res. 14 Slaughter/Session s voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; bill considered as read; Section 2 allows allocations referred to in 3(a)(4)(B)(i) of H.Res. 5 may be submitted by Rep. Nussle (IA)	<ul> <li>bill not reported</li> <li>Rangel substitute submitted but not made in order</li> <li>1 Dem. denied</li> </ul>		
H.J.Res. 1 & H.J.Res. 2 +2 bills 1 rule 1/7/03 *8:30 pm both NR PQ Closed rule (s)	Making Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 2003 (6 <sup>th</sup> <b>C/R through 2/1/03</b> ) Making Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 2003 (7 <sup>th</sup> <b>C/R and shell for omnibus)</b> Appropriations	H.Res. 15 McGovern/Linde r voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House of H.J.Res. 1; waives all points of order against consideration ; Sec. 2 consideration in the House of H.J.Res. 2; waives all points of order against consideration	<ul> <li>bills not reported (2)</li> <li>Obey denied necessary waivers to offer amendment or motion to recommit (budget act waiver that prohibits consideration of appropriations bills or amendments prior to the filing of 302(b) sub-allocations</li> <li>1 Dem denied</li> </ul>		
H.J.Res. 13 1/27/03 6:00 pm.meeting postponed until 6:50 NR SH Closed rule	Making Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 2003 (8 <sup>th</sup> <b>C/R through 2/7/03)</b> Appropriations	H.Res. 29 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; Sec. 2 makes in order motion to disagree with Senate amendment and request or disagree to a conference	<b>bill not reported</b> Materials for meeting not received until 5:30 pm		
H.J.Res. 18 2/4/03 6:30 pm NR NT Closed rule	Making Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 2003 (9 <sup>th</sup> <b>C/R through 2/20/03)</b> Appropriations	H.Res. 48 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice Rule tabled by u/c on 2/13/03	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	<ul> <li>bill not reported</li> <li>5-minutes notice for text of H.J.Res. 18</li> <li>Rule not used, bill done by u/c on House Floor</li> <li>Rule tabled by u/c on 2/13/03</li> </ul>		

H.R. 4 2/12/03 3:00 pm NR Restrictive rule	Personal Responsibility, Work & Family Promotion Act of 2003 - a.k.a. welfare reform reauthorization Education & the Workforce, Ways & Means, & Energy & Commerce	H.Res. 69 Slaughter/Pryce voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> two hours general debate, 50 to Ways & Means, 40 to Education & Workforce, and 30 to Energy & Commerce; waives all points of consideration against bill; bill considered as read for amendment; makes in order only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified in the report; waives all points of order against amendments except that adoption of a substitute shall end the amendment process	bill not reported 24 amendments submitted, 3R and 21D 2 Democratic amendments in order
CF for H.J.Res. 2 (and H.Con.Res. 35 to correct enrollment) 2/13/03 (leg day 12 <sup>th</sup> ) ^*7:00 am mtg. Conference Report rule	Conference Report to accompany and provide for correction in the enrollment of H.J.Res. 2-a.k.a. FY03 Omnibus Appropriations bill Appropriations	H.Res. 71 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice	<b>Conference report rule</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides the conference considered as read; provides that upon adoption of the conference report the House shall have adopted H.Con.Res. 35	<u>3-day layover waived</u> One copy of text presented just prior to 7:00 am meeting
H.R. 534 2/26/03 2:30 pm Restrictive rule	Human Cloning Prohibition Act of 2003 Judiciary	H.Res. 105 McGovern/Myric k voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the amendments	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 7 amendments submitted, 5D, 1R, 1Bi <u>3 amendments in order 1D, 1R,</u> 1Bi
H.R. 878 3/5/03 *8:30 pm E SE PQ (prepared but not used) Closed rule	Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act of 2003 Ways & Means	H.Res. 126 Frost/Myrick 6-4 tabled by H.Res. 139	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; self-executes text in Rules' report into base text	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 10 amendments offered <u>1R amendment in order</u> rule not used-tabled by H.Res. 139-new text (H.R. 1307) done by suspension instead on 3/19/03

H.R. 5 3/12/03 *9:00 pm NT E SE PQ Closed rule	Help Efficient, Accessible, Low Cost, Timely Healthcare (HEALTH) Act of 2003-a.k.a. medical malpractice Judiciary, Energy & Commerce	H.Res. 139 Hastings(FL)/ Reynolds voice	Closed-waives all points of order against consideration; two hours general debate, 80 minutes to Judiciary, 40 minutes to Energy & Commerce; self-executes new text printed in Rules' report, <b>tables</b> H.Res. 126 bill announced for Floor on 3/6/03 but meeting still deemed Emergency	<u>3-day layover waived</u> No announcement on amendment process 31 amendments submitted, 29D, 2R (substitute) <u>1 R amendment in order (substitute)</u>
H.R. 975 3/18/03 6:00 pm Restrictive rule	The Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2003 Judiciary	H.Res. 147 Frost/Sessions voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Judiciary substitute which shall be considered as read; makes in order only amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments in report	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 14 amendments submitted, 12 D (3 withdrawn), 2 Bi <u>3D and 2 Bi amendments in</u> <u>order</u>
H.Con.Res. 95 3/19/03 *10:00 pm E NT SE Restrictive rule	Concurrent Resolution on the Budget, FY2004 Budget	H.Res. 151 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; three hour general debate, two for Budget and one hour on economic goals by Saxton & Stark; self- executes the substitute printed in Part A of the Rules' report; makes in order only the amendments printed in part B of the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments and provides that if a substitute is adopted the amendment process stops; after the amendment process a final period of general debate of 20 minutes is provided; permits Chairman of Budget to offer amendments to achieve mathematical consistency; provides that the budget is not subject to division	<u>3D and 2R amendments in</u> order
Waiving 2/3rds for H.Con.Res. 95 on March 20 <sup>th</sup> 3/19/03 10:00 pm E Procedural rule	waiving 2/3rds on March 20, 2003 for Concurrent Resolution on the Budget, FY2004 (Budget)	H.Res. 152 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice Tabled by u/c 3/27/03	Procedural rule	N/A rule not used-tabled by u/c 3/27/03

H.R. 1104 3/25/03 5:00 pm SH PQ Restrictive rule	Child Abduction Prevention Act of 2003- <b>a.k.a. AMBER Alert</b> Judiciary	H.Res. 160 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> waives all points of against consideration; one hour general debate, 45 to Judiciary, 15 to Education & Workforce; makes in order Judiciary substitute which shall be considered as read; waives all points of order against substitute; makes in order only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; provides after passage to take S. 151 strike all and insert text of H.R. 1104, insist on amendment and request conference	12 amendments submitted, 5 D, and Frost substitute rule motion to take S. 121 from Speaker's table instead (Senate AMBER bill) <u>8 amendments in order 5R, 3D</u>
H.R. 743 4/1/03 1:00 pm E SE PQ Restrictive rule	Social Security Protection Act of 2003 Ways & Means	H.Res. 168 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; self-executes Ways & Means reported text; makes in order Green amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendment	3 D amendments offered <u>1D amendment in order</u> the bill had failed under suspension of the rules on 3/5/03
H.R. 1559 4/2/03 5:30 pm E PQ Open rule	Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations Act FY03 Appropriations	H.Res. 172 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against provisions in the bill	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
H.R. 1036 4/8/03 1:30 pm Restrictive rule	Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act of 2003 <b>-a.k.a. gun</b> <b>manufacturers liability</b> Judiciary	H.Res. 181 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Judiciary substitute which shall be considered as read; makes in order only those amendments printed in Rules' report as designed; waives all points of order against amendments	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 13 D amendments submitted <u>5D amendments in order</u>
CF for S. 151 4/9/03 2:30 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report on PROTECT Act- <b>a.k.a. AMBER</b> Alert Judiciary	H.Res. 188 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Conference Report rule</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>

H.R. 6 4/10/03 (Leg day 9 <sup>th</sup> ) ^*7:00 am E NR PQ Restrictive rule	Energy Policy Act of 2003 Energy & Commerce primary (with time given to Science, Resources, & Ways and Means)	H.Res. 189 Slaughter/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; 1 ½ hours general debate, 30 minutes to Energy & Commerce, 20 minutes each to Science, Resources, and Ways & Means; makes in order only those amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	bill not reported <u>3-day layover waived</u> 78 amendments submitted, <u>22 amendments in order, 8R,</u> <u>10D, 4Bi</u>
Waiving 2/3rds for CF on H.Con.Res. 95 on April 10 <sup>th</sup> 4/10/03 (Leg day 9 <sup>th</sup> ) ^*7:00 am E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on April 10, 2003 for the Conference Report on the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget FY04 Budget	H.Res. 190 McGovern/ Hastings(WA) voice	Procedural rule	N/A
CF for H.Con.Res. 95 4/10/03 *10:00 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report on the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget FY04 Budget	H.Res. 191 McGovern/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Conference Report rule</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Waiving 2/3rds           for CF on H.R.           1559           4/10/03           *10:00 pm           E           Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on April 11, 2003 for the Conference Report on Emergency Wartime Supplemental FY03 Appropriations	H.Res. 192 Frost/Myrick voice	Procedural rule	N/A rule not used
<b>Waiving 2/3rds</b> for CF on H.R. 1559 4/11/03 1:10 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on April 12, 2003 for the Conference Report on Emergency Wartime Supplemental FY03 Appropriations	H.Res. 197 Frost/Myrick voice	Procedural rule	N/A rule not used-conference done by u/c

H.R. 1350 4/29/03 5:00 pm Restrictive rule	Improving Education Results for Children with Disabilities Act of 2003 a.k.a. IDEA reauthorization Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 206 McGovern/Myric k voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> waives all points of consideration; makes in order Education Committee substitute which is considered as read; allows only those amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 33 amendments submitted, 10D, 23R, 1Bi <u>14 amendments in order 3D,</u> <u>10R, 1Bi</u>
H.R. 1298 4/30/03 2:00 pm Restrictive rule	United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act of 2003 International Relations	H.Res. 210 Hastings(FL)/ Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> makes in order International Relations Committee substitute which is considered as read; makes in order only those amendments in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	14 amendments submitted, 7D, 5R, 2Bi <u>11 amendments in order 4D,</u> <u>5R, 2Bi</u>
H.R. 766 5/6/03 5:00 pm Open rule	Nanotechnology Research & Development Act of 2003 Science	H.Res. 219 Hastings(FL)/Lin der voice	<b>Open</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Science Committee substitute to be read by section	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
H.R. 1261 5/7/03 3:30 pm PQ Restrictive rule	Workforce Reinvestment & Adult Education Act of 2003 <b>a.k.a.WIA</b> Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 221 McGovern/Pryce voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -makes in order Education Committee substitute which shall be considered as read; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	27 amendments submitted, 23D, 3R, 1Bi <u>8 amendments in order 5D, 3R</u>
H.R. 2 5/8/03 *9:00 pm E SE PQ	Jobs and Growth Reconcilliation Tax Act of 2003 <b>a.k.a. dividend</b> tax bill	H.Res. 227 Frost/Reynolds 9-4	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration and against the bill; self executes the Ways & Means substitute	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 15 amendments submitted all D <u>no amendments in order</u>
Closed rule	Ways & Means			
H.R. 1527 5/13/03 5:00 pm PQ	National Transportation Safety Board Reauthorization Act of 2003	H.Res. 229 McGovern/ Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Open</b> -bill read by section	
Open rule	Transportation & Infrastructure	VOICE		

H.R. 1000 5/13/03 5:00 pm SE PQ Restrictive rule	Pension Security At of 2003 Education & the Workforce Ways & Means	H.Res. 230 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House; self-executes the Education Committee substitute; waives all points of order against the bill; makes in order only Miller substitute printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendment	9 amendments submitted 7D, 2R <u>1 amendment in order, 1D</u>
H.R. 1904 5/19/03 7:00 pm E SE Restrictive rule	Healthy Forests Restoration Act of 2003 Agriculture, Resources, Judiciary	H.Res. 238 Hastings(FL)/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in House; waives all points of order against consideration; 1 hour general debate 30 for Agriculture, 20 for Resources, 10 for Judiciary; self-executes amendment printed in part A Rules' report; makes in order Miller amendment printed in part B Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendment	10D amendments submitted <u>1 amendment in order, 1D</u>
H.R. 1588 <b>-1st rule</b> 5/20/03 *9:30 pm PQ Restrictive rule	National Defense Authorization Act for FY04 <b>-rule 1</b> Armed Services	H.Res. 245 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against bill; 2 hours general debate; makes in order Armed Services Committee substitute which shall be considered as read; waives all points of order against substitute; makes in order only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; allows Chair of Committee of the Whole to recognize any amendment out of order with one hours notice from Armed Services Chair; limits motion to strike enacting clause; provides that after disposition of amendments that the Committee of the Whole shall rise	bill done with 2 rules-see H.Res. 247 99+ amendments submitted, 40+D 9 amendments in order, 3D, 6R
H.R. 1588- <b>2nd rule</b> 5/21/03 *9:30 pm PQ Restrictive rule	National Defense Authorization Act for FY04 <b>-rule 2</b> Armed Services	H.Res. 247 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -further consideration of bill; allows only those amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; allows Chair to consider en bloc certain amendments; allows Chair of Committee of the Whole to recognize any amendment out of order with one hours notice from Armed Services Chair	bill done with 2 rules-see H.Res. 245 99+ amendments submitted, 40+D <u>30 amendments in order,</u> <u>12D,16R,2Bi</u>

H.R. 2185 5/21/03 *9:30 pm NR E PQ Closed rule	Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 2003 Ways & Means	H.Res. 248 McGovern/ Diaz-Balart 8-3	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in House; waives all points of order against consideration	<b>bill not reported</b> 1D amendment submitted <u>no amendments in order</u>
Waiving 2/3rds for the CF on H.R.2 on May 22 <sup>nd</sup> 5/21/03 *9:30 pm E PQ	Waiving 2/3rds on May 22 <sup>nd</sup> for CF on the Jobs & Growth Tax Act a.k.a. dividend tax bill	H.Res. 249 Frost/Myrick voice	Procedural rule	N/A
Procedural rule	Ways & Means			
CF for H.R. 2 5/22/03 *10:15 pm E PQ	Conference report for the Jobs & Growth Tax Act <b>a.k.a. dividend</b> tax bill	H.Res. 253 Frost/Reynolds voice	<b>Conference report rule</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides the conference report is read	3-day layover waived
Conference Report rule	Ways & Means			
H.J.Res. 4 6/2/03 5:30 pm Restrictive rule	Constitutional Amendment Authorizing Congress to Prohibit the Physical Desecration of the Flag of the United States Judiciary	H.Res. 255 Hastings(FL)/Lin der 5-4	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; two hours general debate; makes in order Conyers substitute for one hour	<u>3-day layover waived</u> <u>1D amendment in order</u>
H.R. 1474 6/3/03 5:00 pm	Check Clearing for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Act	H.Res. 256 McGovern/Sessi ons	<b>Open</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Financial Services substitute which is read by section	
Open rule H.R. 760 6/3/03 5:00 pm SH Restrictive rule	Financial Services Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003 Judiciary	voice H.Res. 257 Slaughter/Myrick voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; bill considered as read; makes in order only amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the amendment; makes in order a motion to take S.3 strike all and insert text of H.R. 760; waives all points of order against motion	4 amendments submitted, 3D. 1Bi <u>1D amendment in order</u>

S. 222 & S. 273 +2 bills 1 rule 6/4/03 *8:50 pm E PQ Closed rule (2)	Zuni Indian Tribe Water Rights Settlement Act & Grand Teton National Park Land Exchange Act <b>both bills previously defeated</b> <b>under suspension</b> Resources	H.Res. 258 Hastings(FL)/ Hastings(WA) 8-3 Rule done by McGovern on Floor	<ul> <li>Closed-S. 222-consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration</li> <li>Closed-S. 273-consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration</li> </ul>	1D motion to add S. 763-Birch Bayh Fed. Courthouse defeated <u>no amendments allowed</u>
Original Jurisdiction H.Con.Res. 190 6/4/03 8:50 pm Original Jurisdiction measure	To establish a joint committee to revie House and Senate rules joint rules, and other matters assuring continuing representation and congressional operations for the American people <b>a.k.a. continuity of</b> <b>Congress</b> Rules Committee	Frost/Dreier voice	Done by unanimous consent on Floor	N/A
H.R. 2143 6/9/03 5:00 pm PQ Restrictive rule	Unlawful Internet Gambling Funding Prohibition Act Financial Services	H.Res. 263 Hastings(FL)/Lin der voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -bill considered as read; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	5 amendments submitted 1D, 2R, 2Bi <u>3 amendments in order, 1D,</u> <u>1R, 1Bi</u>
H.R. 2115 6/10/03 7:15 pm SE PQ Restrictive rule	Flight 100 - Century of Aviation Reauthorization Act <b>a.k.a. FAA</b> <b>Reauthorization</b> Transportation & Infrastructure	H.Res. 265 McGovern/ Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Transportation Committee substitute as modified by self-executing provision in part A of Rules' report; waives all points of order against substitute; allows only those amendments printed in part B of Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	19 amendments submitted 9D, 9R, 1Bi <u>6amendments in order, 1D, 5R</u>
H.R. 1115 6/11/03 7:00 pm PQ Restrictive rule	Class Action Fairness Act of 2003 Judiciary	H.Res. 269 Frost/Pryce voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -makes in order Judiciary Committee substitute which shall be considered as read; waives all points of order against substitute; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the amendments	8 amendments submitted 5D, 2R(1 withdrawn), 1Bi <u>4 amendments in order, 3D, 1R</u>

H.R. 1308 (motion on Senate passed version) 6/11/03 7:00 pm E NT SE PQ	Relating to the Consideration of Senate Amendments to the Tax Relief, Simplification, and Equity Act of 2003-a.k.a. motion to take Senate version and insert new text of tax bill	H.Res. 270 Frost/Reynolds 9-4	<b>Closed</b> -provides that upon adoption of the rule the House has taken from the Speaker's table the bill HR 1308(as passed by the Senate) and has agreed to an amendment (printed in the Rules' report); insisted on its amendment and requested a conference with the Senate	1Bi amendment submitted <u>no amendments allowed except</u> <u>R SE provision</u>
Closed rule	Ways & Means			
CF on S. 342 6/16/03 6:15 pm PQ	Conference to Accompany S. 342-Keeping Children and Families Safe Act of 2003 a.k.a. child abuse prevention reauthorization	H.Res. 276 Hastings(FL) /Sessions voice	<b>Conference report rule</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration	
Conference Report rule	Education & the Workforce			
H.R. 8 6/17/03 1:00 pm NR PQ	Death Tax Repeal Permanency Act of 2003	H.Res. 281 Slaughter/Reynol ds voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in House; bill considered as read; makes in order Pomeroy substitute printed in Rules' report; waives all points of order against substitute amendment	bill not reported 2D amendments submitted <u>1D amendment in order</u>
Restrictive rule	Ways & Means			
H.R. 1528 6/17/03 1:00 pm E SE Restrictive rule	Taxpayer Protection & IRS Accountability Act of 2003 Ways & Means	H.Res. 282 Slaughter/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Ways & Means substitute as modified by the self- executing provision in part A of the Rules' report; waives all points of order against the bill as amended; makes in order the amendment by Rep. Rangel printed in the part B of the Rules' report; waives all points of order against the amendment	2 amendments submitted 2D 1R <u>2 amendments in order 1D, 1R</u>
H.R. 660 6/18/03 1:30 pm E SE PQ Restrictive rule	Small Business Health Fairness Act of 2003- <b>a.k.a. AHP's</b> <b>Association Health Plans</b> Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 283 Frost/ Diaz- Balart 6-3	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; self-executes Education Committee substitute; makes in order the substitute by Rep. Kind printed in the Rules' report; waives all points of order against the substitute amendment	15 amendments submitted 14D, 1R <u>1D amendment in order</u>

<b>Waiving 2/3rds</b> for H.R. 2417 on June 24, 2003 6/23/03 *after 8:00 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on June 23, 2003 for legislation to Authorize Appropriations for the FY04 for Intelligence and Intelligence related Activities of the US Government, the Community Management Account, and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System Intelligence	H.Res. 292 Hastings(FL) /Myrick voice	Procedural rule	N/A
H.R. 2555 6/23/03 *after 8:00 pm PQ Open rule	Department of Homeland Security Appropriations, FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 293 Frost/Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Open</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; bill read by paragraph; waives section 501 of H.Con.Res. 95 and clause 2, Rule XXI against the bill except where specified in the resolution	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 14D amendments submitted, none given waivers
H.R. 2417 6/24/03 2:00 pm Restrictive rule	Intelligence Authorization Act for FY04 Intelligence	H.Res. 295 Hastings(FL)/My rick voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Intelligence Committee substitute; waives all points of order against substitute; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the amendments	10 amendments submitted, 8D, 1R, 1Bi (2D withdrawn) <u>6 amendments in order, 5D, 1R</u>
Original Jurisdiction H.Res. 297 6/27/03 (leg day 6/26) *12:50 am E	Providing for consideration of motions to suspend the rules on Wednesdays for the remainder of the 108 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.Res. 297 McGovern/Linde r voice	<b>Original jurisdiction</b> -consideration in the House for one Hour	N/A
Original Jurisdiction measure	Rules			
H.R. 2559 6/27/03 (leg day 6/26) *12:50 am E PQ Open rule	Military Construction Appropriations Act for FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 298 McGovern/Myric k voice	<b>Open</b> -bill read by paragraph; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against provisions in the bill	1 D submitted, no waiver granted

H.R. 1 & H.R. 2596 +2 bills 1 rule 6/27/03 (leg day 6/26) *12:50 am (reported 5:00 am) NT,NR NR E SE PQ Restrictive rule & Closed rule	Medicare Prescription Drug & Modernization Act of 2003 and Health Savings and Affordability Act of 2003 Energy & Commerce, Ways & Means Ways & Means	H.Res. 299 Slaughter/Pryce 7-3	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House of H.R. 1; waives all points of order against consideration; allows substitute amendment by Rep. Rangel printed in Rules' report; waives all points of order against amendment; Sec. 2 consideration in the House of H.R. 2596 on June 26 or 27; waives all points of order against consideration; adds H.R. 2596 text to H.R. 1; allows chair to postpone further consideration of either bill; allows concurrent resolutions to adjourn in July; allows the Approps. Committee to file by midnight on July 3, 2003	bills not reported (2) 59 amendments submitted, 36D, 18R, 5Bi, (2R withdrawn) <u>1D amendment in order</u>
H.R. 438 7/8/03 7:45 pm Restrictive rule	Teacher Recruitment & Retention Act of 2003 Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 309 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Education Committee substitute and provides it be considered as read; waives all points of order against substitute; only allows Miller amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendment	11 amendments submitted, 10D, 1Bi <u>1Bi amendment in order</u>
H.R. 2211 7/8/03 7:45 pm Restrictive rule	Ready to Teach Act <b>a.k.a.</b> reauthorization of Title II Higher Ed Act Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 310 McGovern/Myric k voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Education Committee substitute which is considered as read; waives all points of order against substitute; allows only those amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	8 amendments submitted 7D, 1R <u>5 amendments in order, 4D, 1R</u>
H.R. 2657 7/8/03 7:45 pm <b>rule amended on</b> <b>Floor</b> SE (after amendment) Closed rule	Legislative Branch Appropriations Act FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 311 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against the bill	4 amendments submitted 1D, 3R <u>no amendments in order</u> rule amended on Floor by u/c to self-execute language preventing funds in the bill from being used for additional dental/vision benefits to Member & staff

H.R. 2660 7/8/03 7:45 pm E PQ Open rule	Departments of Labor, Health & Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 312 Slaughter/Pryce 7-2	Open-waives all points of order against consideration; bill read by paragraph; all points of order are waived against bill except section 217(b)pertaining to Medicaid fee Chairman Young (FL) by u/c before the rule adoption requested 3 hours general debate. In addition, in a separate u/c he requested specific limits on amendments. Both u/c's were done with agreement with Ranking Member Obey	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 2D amendments submitted by Obey <u>waivers not given to 2D</u> bill not filed until 4:10 pm, 20 minutes before start of hearing portion of Rules' meeting
H.R. 1950 7/14/03 *10:00 pm Restrictive rule	Foreign Relations Authorization Act, FY04-05 <b>a.k.a. State</b> <b>Department</b> Foreign Relations	H.Res. 316 McGovern/ Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order International Relations Committee substitute as modified by Armed Services committee and Energy & Commerce Committee (as reported by both); waives all points of order against substitute; makes in order only those amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments and en bloc amendments; authorizes IR Chair to offer amendments en bloc as specified; allows amendments out of order after 60 minutes notice from IR Chair	<ul> <li>77 amendments submitted,</li> <li>35D, 32R, 10Bi</li> <li><u>42 amendments in order 12D,</u></li> <li><u>23R, 7Bi</u></li> <li>amendment process unusually complicated-see file</li> </ul>
H.R. 2691 7/15/03 6:30 pm PQ Open rule	Department of Interior, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 319 Slaughter/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Open</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against bill except for specified portions; waives clause 2(e), Rule XXI against amendments	1D amendment submitted by Obey <u>waivers not given to 1D</u>
H.R. 2799 7/21/03 *after 8:00 pm E PQ Open rule	Commerce/Justice/State, and the Judiciary Appropriations FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 326 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against bill except for specified portions	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 6D amendments submitted <u>waivers not given to any</u> <u>amendment</u>

H.R. 2800	Foreign Operations, Export	H.Res. 327	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
7/21/03 *after 8:00 pm	Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations FY04	McGovern/ Diaz-Balart	consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against bill except for specified portions	9D, 1R amendments submitted
E Open rule	Appropriations	voice		<u>waivers not given to any</u> <u>amendment</u>
H.R.2738 & H.R. 2739 +2 bills 1 rule 7/22/03 4:30 pm E PQ (vote only)	United States-Chile Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act & United States-Singapore Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act a.k.a. fast track items done by rule to shorten debate time	H.Res. 329 Hastings(FL)/Dr eier voice	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House of H.R. 2738; waives all points of order against consideration; two hours general debate 1 hour 40 minutes for Ways & Means and 20 minutes for Judiciary (pursuant to section 151(f)(2) of Trade Act of 194 there is no motion to recommit)	3-day layover waived against both bills <u>no amendments or recommital</u> <u>allowed under <b>fast track</b> <u><b>measures</b></u></u>
Closed rule(s)(2)	Ways & Means and Judiciary		<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House of H.R. 2739; waives all points of order against consideration; two hours general debate 1 hour 40 minutes for Ways & Means and 20 minutes for Judiciary (pursuant to section 151(f)(2) of Trade Act of 194 there is no motion to recommit) Allows Chair to postpone further consideration of the bills to a time designated by the Speaker	
H.R. 2765 7/24/03 (leg day 7/23) **1:45 am E	District of Columbia Appropriations FY04	H.Res. 334 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Open</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against bill except for specified provisions; makes in order Davis (VA) amendment in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendment;	D motion to strike Davis amendment and restrictions on vote not made in order <u>1 R amendment given waiver</u>
Open rule	Appropriations	rule not used- rule tabled by 7/25/03 u/c request	allows only one motion to adjourn per legislative day and only one motion to strict the enacting clause per day	rule not used, u/c done on Floor 7/25/03 to bring up bill, 3 of 4 unprotected provisions in bill protected under u/c-rule tabled by 7/25/03 u/c request

H.R. 2427 7/23/03 *11:50 pm E NR PQ (vote only) Closed rule	Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 Energy & Commerce	H.Res. 335 Slaughter/Session s voice	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration Allows Chair to postpone further consideration of the bills to a time designated by the Speaker	<b>Bill not reported</b> 1 D and 1 R amendments submitted a D motion to increase debate to two hours was not allowed <u>no amendments were allowed</u>
H.R. 2210 7/24/03 (leg day 7/23) **1:45 am NT PQ (vote only that was offered and vacated) Restrictive rule	School Readiness Act of 2003 <b>a.k.a. Head Start</b> <b>reauthorization</b> Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 336 Hastings(FL)/Pry ce voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> makes in order substitute printed in part A of Rules' report; waives all points of order against substitute; makes in order only those amendments printed in Part B of Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; allows only one motion to adjourn per legislative day and only one motion to strict the enacting clause per day	26 amendments submitted, 25D, 1R <u>2 D, 1 R amendments allowed</u>
H.R. 2861 7/25/03 (leg day 7/24) **1:00 am E Open rule	Departments of Veterans Affairs, and Housing & Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 338 Slaughter/Pryce 8-4	<b>Open rule-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against bill except for specified provisions	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 1D & 1Bi amendment submitted <u>waivers not given to any</u> <u>amendments</u>
H.R. 2859 7/25/03 (leg day 7/24) **1:00 am E PQ rule amended on Floor	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Disaster Relief Act FY03	H.Res. 339 McGovern/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; only allows Toomey amendment if printed in the <i>Congressional</i> <i>Record</i> as specified; waives all points of order against amendment	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 1D & 1R amendment submitted <u>1 R given waivers</u> <b>Rule amended on Floor</b> because Toomey did not print amendment, amended
Restrictive rule	Appropriations			rule allowed consideration of Toomey (across the board cut) amendment as if it had been printed

Waiving 2/3rds for H.R. 2861 on July 25, 2003 7/25/03 (leg day 7/24) **1:00 am E Procedural rule	waiving 2/3rds on July 25, 2003 for Departments of Veterans Affairs, and Housing & Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 340 Slaughter/Pryce voice rule not used	Procedural rule	N/A rule done to protect against procedural votes and dilatory tactics <b>rule not used</b>
H.R. 2989 9/3/03 *8:30 pm PQ Open rule	Departments of Transportation and Treasury, & Independent Agencies Appropriations Act Appropriations	H.Res. 351 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Open rule-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against bill except for specified provisions	7 Democratic amendments submitted <u>waivers not given to any</u> <u>amendments</u> much of this bill was exposed to points of order because of TI authorizing committee dispute
H.R. 2622 9/9/03 5:00 pm PP Restrictive rule	Fair & Accurate Credit Transactions Act of 2003 a.k.a. fair credit reporting reauthorization Financial Services	H.Res. 360 Frost/Sessions voice	<b>Restrictive</b> : waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Financial Services substitute which is considered as read; waives all points of order against the substitute; makes in order only those amendments preprinted in the Congressional Record prior to consideration (allows 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree amendments).	2 Democratic, 1 Bipartisan amendments submitted needing waivers <u>waivers not given to any</u> <u>amendments</u>
H.R. 7 9/16/03 5:00 pm SE Restrictive Rule	Charitable Giving Act of 2003 Ways & Means	H.Res. 370 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Restrictive</b> : consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Ways & Means substitute as amended by self- executing provision printed in Part A of the Rules' report; makes in order Cardin substitute printed in Part B of Rules' report; waives all points of order against substitute	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 4D, 2R amendments submitted <u>1R &amp; 1D amendment in order</u>
CF on H.R. 2555 9/23/03 7:45 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report on the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations for FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 374 Slaughter/Diaz- Balart voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>

H.R. 2557 9/23/03 7:45 pm Restrictive rule	Water Resources & Development Act of 2003 <b>a.k.a. WRDA</b> Transportation & Infrastructure	H.Res. 375 McGovern/ Hastings (WA) voice	<b>Restrictive</b> : makes in order Transportation & Infrastructure substitute which is considered as read; waives all points of order against substitute; allows only amendments printed in Rules' report; waives all points of order against amendments	6D, 4R amendments submitted <u>2R and 1D amendments in</u> <u>order</u> manager's amendment accommodated most of the amendments submitted
Recommit CF on HR2115 9/24/03 6:30 pm E SE Procedural rule	Motion to recommit to conference the Conference Report on Air 100-Century of Aviation Reauthorization a.k.a. FAA reauthorization Transportation & Infrastructure	H.Res. 377 McGovern/Diaz- Balart voice	<b>Procedural:</b> provides that upon adoption of rule the conference shall be recommitted to the conference committee	N/A
CF on S. 3 <b>(a.k.a</b> <b>H.R. 760)</b> 10/1/03 4:00 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report on the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act Judiciary	H.Res. 383 Slaughter/Myrick voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
H.R. 3289-1st rule 10/15/03 7:30 pm E PQ Open rule	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq & Afghanistan FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 396 Frost/Hastings (WA) 9-4	<b>Open:</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against bill except for specified provisions;	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 80+ amendments submitted, all but 8 by Democrats, many needed waivers including Obey substitute <u>waivers not given to any</u> <u>amendments</u>

H.R. 3289 <b>-2nd rule</b> 10/17/03(leg day 10/16) **12:30am E PQ Closed rule	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq & Afghanistan FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 401 Frost/Hastings (WA) voice	<b>Closed:</b> provides that bill is considered as read and no further motion or amendment is in order	waivers not given to any amendments
H.J.Res. 73 10/20/03 7:15 pm NR E Closed rule	Making Continuing Appropriations FY04- <b>2nd C/R -</b> <b>through 11/7/03</b> Appropriations	H.Res. 407 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Closed:</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	Bill not reported This C/R is being used as a shell for the forthcoming FY04 Omnibus spending bill
H.R. 2443 10/28/03 *8:00 pm	Coast Guard & Maritime Transportation Act of 2003	H.Res. 416 Hastings(FL)/Dia z- Balart	<b>Open:</b> makes in order Transportation Substitute; substitute considered as read; all points of order waives against substitute	
Open rule	Transportation & Infrastructure	voice		
H.J.Res. 75 10/28/03 *8:00 pm NR E Closed rule	Making Continuing Appropriations FY04- <b>3rd C/R -</b> <b>through 11/7/03</b>	H.Res. 417 Hastings(FL)/Lin der voice	<b>Closed:</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	Bill not reported
	Appropriations			
CF on H.R. 2691 10/28/03 *8:00 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report on the Department of Interior & Related Agencies Appropriations for FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 418 Slaughter/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>

<b>Waiving 2/3rds</b> for CF for H.R. 3289 on October 30, 2003 10/29/03 5:00 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on October 30, 2003 for the Conference Report for the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq & Afghanistan FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 421 Frost/Hastings( WA) 9-3	Procedural rule	N/A
CF for H.R. 2115 10/29/03 5:00 pm E PQ Conference Report rule	Conference Report on Flight 100 - Century of Aviation Reauthorization <b>FAA</b> Transportation & Infrastructure	H.Res. 422 McGovern/Diaz- Balart 9-3	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waiver</u> an amendment to the rule to add a self-executing concurrent resolution to correct the conference was denied by a party line vote of 3-9
CF for H.R. 3289 10/30/03 2:00 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report for the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq & Afghanistan FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 424 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u> an amendment to the rule to add a self-executing concurrent resolution to correct the conference was denied by a party line vote of 4-8
H.R. 1829 11/04/03 5:30 pm Open rule	Federal Prison Industries Competition in Contracting Act of 2003 Judiciary	H.Res. 428 Hastings(FL)/ Myrick voice	<b>Open:</b> makes in order Judiciary substitute; bill read by section	<u>waivers not given to</u> <u>Scott(VA) amendment</u>
CF for H.R. 2559 11/03/03 5:30 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report for Military Constructions Appropriations Act of FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 429 McGovern/Myric k voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>

H.J.Res. 76 11/03/03 5:30 pm NR E Closed rule	Making Continuing Appropriations FY04- <b>4th C/R -</b> <b>through 11/21/03</b> Appropriations	H.Res. 430 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice	<b>Closed:</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	Bill not reported
<b>Waiving 2/3rds</b> for CF for H.R. 1588 on November 7, 2003 11/06/03 4:30 pm E	Waiving 2/3rds on November 7, 2003 Conference Report for National Defense Authorization Act for FY04	H.Res. 434 Frost/Myrick voice	Procedural rule	N/A
Procedural rule	Armed Services			
CF for H.R. 1588 11/07/03(leg day 11/06/03) ^**7:00 am E	Conference Report for National Defense Authorization Act for FY04	H.Res. 437 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Conference Report rule	Armed Services			
CF for H.R. 6 11/18/03 (leg day 11/17/03) ^**7:00 am E PQ	Conference Report for Energy Policy Act of 2003	H.Res. 443 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u> A Frost motion to amend the rule to not waive clause 8(a)(l)(A) (requiring 3-day layover) was defeated 3-6 #216, party-line vote
Conference Report rule	Energy & Commerce			
CF for H.R. 2754 11/18/03 (leg day 11/17/03) ^**7:00 am	Conference Report for Energy & Water Appropriations FY04	H.Res. 444 Hastings(FL) /Reynolds voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration	
Conference Report rule	Appropriations	VOICE		

Providing for suspension day on November 20 <sup>th</sup> 11/19/03 *8:45 pm E Procedural rule	Providing for Consideration of Motions to Suspend the Rules	H.Res. 449 Slaughter/Session s voice	<b>Procedural rule:</b> allows suspensions on Thursday, November 20, 2003; The Speaker shall consult with the Minority Leader on items to be considered	N/A
H.J.Res. 78 11/19/03 *8:45 pm E NR Closed rule	Making Further Continuing Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2004-5th C/R through November 23, 2003 Appropriations	H.Res. 450 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Closed:</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	Bill not reported
CF for H.R. 2417 11/19/03 *8:45 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report for Intelligence Authorization Act for FY04	H.Res. 451 Hastings(FL)/Go ss voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Providing for suspension day on November 21 <sup>st</sup> 11/20/03 *9:00 pm E Procedural rule	Providing for Consideration of Motions to Suspend the Rules	H.Res. 456 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Procedural rule:</b> allows suspensions on Thursday, November 21, 2003; The Speaker shall consult with the Minority Leader on items to be considered	N/A
CF for H.R. 1904 11/20/03 *9:00 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference Report for Healthy Forests Restoration Act of 2003 Resources	H.Res. 457 Hastings(FL)/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>

Waiving 2/3rds for any FY04 appropriations item on November 21 <sup>st</sup> 11/20/03 *9:00 pm E	Waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003 for any FY04 appropriations item	H.Res. 458 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Procedural rule</b> : allows same day consideration, on November 21, 2003, of any rule for a C/R for FY04, any FY04 general appropriations bill, joint resolution, amendment thereto, or conference report thereon	N/A provides for waiving 2/3rds for numerous items
Procedural rule	Appropriations			
<b>Waiving 2/3rds</b> for H.R. 1 on November 21 <sup>st</sup> 11/20/03 *9:00 pm E	Waiving 2/3rds on November 21, 2003 for the Conference Report for the Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act of 2003	H.Res. 459 Slaughter/Pryce 7-3	Procedural rule	N/A
Procedural rule				
	Ways & Means/Energy & Commerce			
CF for H.R. 1 11/21/03 10:00 am E	Conference Report for the Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act of 2003	H.Res. 463 Slaughter/Pryce 8-3	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Conference Report rule	Ways & Means/Energy & Commerce			
H.J.Res. 80 11/21/03 7:40 pm E NR Closed rule	Providing for consideration of a joint resolution appointing the day for the convening of the second session of the 108 <sup>th</sup> Congress (January 20, 2004)	H.Res. 464 McGovern/Diaz- Balart voice	<b>Closed:</b> consideration in the House; joint resolution considered as read; previous question ordered to final passage except 1- hour divided between Majority Leader & Minority Leader; one motion to commit	bill not reported rule not used, H.J.Res. 80 done by U/C on November 22 <sup>nd</sup> (legislative day of November 21 <sup>st</sup> )(reconvening likely to be January 20, 2004)

Waiving 2/3rds for any FY04 appropriations item on or before 1/31/04 11/21/03 7:40 pm E PQ Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds for any FY04 appropriations bill/joint resolution/amendment thereto/conference report on or before 1/31/04	H.Res. 465 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Procedural rule</b> : allows same day consideration, through January 31, 2004, of any rule for a C/R for FY04, any FY04 general appropriations bill, joint resolution, amendment thereto, or conference report thereon	N/A This martial law rule is for numerous appropriations items from November 22, 2003 through January 31, 2004
CF for H.R. 2673 12/08/03 9:00 am PQ Conference Report rule	Conference report for Agriculture Appropriations FY04-also vehicle for FY04 Omnibus Appropriations	H.Res. 473 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice	<b>Conference Report rule:</b> waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; provides that the conference report is read	A Frost motion to amend the rule to add a concurrent resolution instructing the enrolling clerk to include Harkin Senate language barring implementation of DOL new overtime regulations, defeated 3-8
end of 1 <sup>st</sup> session				

2 <sup>nd</sup> Session-108th				
S. 610 1/27/04 5:30 pm	NASA Workforce Flexibility Act	H.Res. 502 Hastings(FL)/ Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Open:</b> 40 minutes of general debate for Science Committee; 20 minutes for Government Reform equally divided; bill considered as read for amendment	
Open rule	Science & Government Reform			
S. 1920 1/27/04 5:30 pm Restrictive rule	To Extend for 6 months the period for which chapter 12 of title 11 of the U.S. Code is reenacted- <b>a.k.a. Farmers'</b> <b>Bankruptcy protection</b> <b>extension</b> , shell for House passed Bankruptcy bill H.R. 975	H.Res. 503 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Restrictive</b> : makes in order substitute consisting of the text of H.R. 975 for the purposes of amendment; waives all points of order against substitute; makes in order only the amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments in report; provides for a motion to request a conference with Senate	2R, 1D amendments in order
	Judiciary			
H.R. 3030 2/3/04 5:30 pm PP	Improving the Community Service Block Grant Act of 2003- a.k.a. CSBG Reauthorization	H.Res. 513 Slaughter/Myrick voice	<b>Restrictive</b> : makes in order Education Committee substitute; bill considered as read; requires amendments to the bill be pre-printed in the <i>Congressional Record</i>	
Restrictive rule	Education & Labor			
H.R. 743 2/10/04 5:30 pm Closed rule	Concur in Senate Amendment to Social Security Protection Act of 2003 a.k.a. Texas Teachers Ways & Means	H.Res. 520 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Closed</b> -make in order a motion to take H.R. 743 from Speaker's Table and concur in Senate amendment; waives all points of order against consideration of motion; one hour debate by Ways & Means	2 Democratic amendments to rule denied
H.R. 1997	Unborn Victims of Violence Act	H.Res. 529	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House;	2 amendments submitted and
2/24/04 7:10 pm SE	of 2004 a.k.a. Laci & Conner's Law	Slaughter/Linder	two hours general debate; makes in order Judiciary substitute as modified by self- executing provision in Part A of Rules' report; allows only Lofgren substitute printed in Part B of Rules' report for 1	made in order (1R & 1D)
Restrictive rule	Judiciary		hour general debate; waives all points of order against Lofgren substitute	

Waiving 2/3rds for consideration or disposition of H.R. 3783 on 2/26/04 2/25/04 3:45 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds for consideration or disposition of legislation to provide an extension of highway, highway safety, motor carrier safety, transit, and other programs funded out of the Highway Trust fund pending enactment of highway reauthorization Transportation/Rules	H.Res. 536 Frost/Reynolds voice	<b>Procedural rule-</b> allows same day consideration, on February 26, 2004 of any rule for consideration or disposition of H.R. 3783 or any amendment thereto.	N/A Rule not used, a subsequent temporary highway bill, H.R. 3850, was passed by U/C on Floor on 2/26/04
H.R. 3752 3/2/04 5:30 pm PP	Commercial Space Launch Amendments Act of 2004	H.Res. 546 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives clause 4(a), Rule XIII against consideration; bill considered as read; allows only those amendments to the bill that preprinted in the <i>Congressional</i> <i>Record</i>	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Restrictive rule	Science			
H.R. 1561 2/10/04-1st mtg 3/2/04-2nd mtg 7:00 reporting Restrictive rule	U.S. Patent & Trademark Fee Modernization Act of 2003 Judiciary	H.Res. 547 Hastings(FL)/Lin der 8-1 vote to report called by Hastings (WA)	<b>Restrictive-</b> makes in order Judiciary Committee substitute; waives all points of order against substitute; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as designated; waives all points of order against amendments	8 amendments submitted (5D/3R) 3 withdrawn <u>2R &amp; 1D in order</u> rule amended by u/c on Floor (Sensenbrenner amendment modified)
H.R. 339 3/9/04 6:46 pm PP Restrictive rule	Personal Responsibility in Food Consumption Act- <b>burger bill</b> Judiciary	H.Res. 552 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> makes in order Judiciary Committee substitute; bill considered as read; waives all points of order against the substitute; allows only those amendments to the bill that preprinted in the <i>Congressional Record</i>	
H.R. 3717 3/10/04 6:00 pm Restrictive rule	Broadcast Decency Enforcement Act of 2004 Energy & Commerce	H.Res. 554 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; 90 minutes general debate; makes in order Energy & Commerce substitute which is considered as read; waives all points of order against the substitute; allows only those amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	8 amendments submitted (6D, 2R) <u>1D &amp; 2 R in order</u>

H.Res. 557 3/16/04 5:30 pm NR PQ Closed rule (no instructions on recommit)	Relating to the liberation of the Iraqi people and the valiant service of the US Armed Forces & Coalition forces	H.Res. 561 Hastings(FL)/Dr eier voice	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in House; four hours general debate; motion to recommit may not contain instructions; during consideration of resolution the Speaker may postpone further consideration until a time designated	bill not reported instructions not allowed on motion to recommit
H.R. 1375 3/17/04 *8:30 pm Restrictive rule	Financial Services Regulatory Relief Act of 2003 Financial Services/Judiciary	H.Res. 566 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration except Budget Act (except it waives 302(f)); makes in order Financial Services/Judiciary substitutes considered as read; waives all points of order against substitute except Budget Act (except it waives 302(f)); allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	13 amendments submitted, 5D, 8R <u>6 amendments in order, 3D,</u> <u>3R</u>
H.Con.Res. 393 3/24/04 6:00 pm E PQ Restrictive rule	Concurrent Resolution on the Budget, Fiscal Year 2005 Budget Committee	H.Res. 574 Frost/Hastings( WA) voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -further consideration; makes in order only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; provides 10 minutes of additional general debate after conclusion of amendments; permits Budget Chair to offer amendments to achieve mathematical consistency; budget not subject to a demand for the division of the question	<ul> <li>35 amendments submitted,</li> <li>22D, 2R, 1Bi</li> <li><u>4 amendments in order, 3D,</u></li> <li><u>1R</u></li> <li>6 hours of general debate done pursuant to u/c request on Floor on 3/23/04</li> </ul>
H.R. 3966 3/29/04 5:00 pm PQ Closed rule	ROTC and Military Recruiter Equal Access to Campus Act of 2004 Armed Services	H.Res. 580 McGovern/Myric k voice	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration except Budget Act; makes in order Armed Services substitute	no amendments submitted
H.Res. 581 3/30/04 2:00 pm E NR Closed rule	Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding rates of compensation for civilian employees and members of the uniformed services of the United States <b>a.k.a. pay parity for Federal</b> <b>employees</b> Government Reform	H.Res. 585 Hastings(FL)/Lin der voice	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House	bill not reported

Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of H.R. 3550 on 4/1/04 H.Res. 592 4/1/04 (leg day 3/31/04) ^*7:00 am E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds for consideration or disposition of the Transportation Equity Act: A Legacy for Users (TEA- LU)a.k.a. highway/surface transportation authorization	H.Res. 592 Frost/Dreier voice	<b>Procedural rule</b> -allowing for same day consideration of H.R. 3550	
	Transportation & Infrastructure			
H.Res. 3550 4/1/04 (leg day 3/31/04) ^*7:00 am E SE PQ	Transportation Equity Act: A Legacy for Users (TEA- LU) <b>a.k.a. highway/surface</b> transportation authorization	H.Res. 593 Frost/Dreier voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> provides for further consideration; no additional debate except final ten minutes following amendment process; makes in order Transportation substitute and self-executes Ways & Means amendment and rule change amendment printed in Part A of Rules' report; bill as amended considered as read; waives all points of order against bill; makes in order only those amendment	59 amendments submitted, 23D, 34R, 2bi <u>25 amendments in order, 8D,</u> <u>16R, 1Bi</u>
Restrictive rule	Transportation & Infrastructure		printed in Part B of Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; Sec. 2 of resolution considered as adopted as if offered under sec. 411 of H.Con.Res. 95	6 hours of general debate done pursuant to u/c request on Floor on 3/30/04
H.R. 2844 4/21/04 6:00 pm SE A PQ Restrictive rule	Continuity in Representation Act of 2004 <b>a.k.a. continuity of</b> <b>Congress</b> House Administration/Judiciary	H.Res. 602 Frost/Hastings( WA) 6-3	<b>Restrictive-</b> 60 minutes general debate; 40 for House Administration, 20 for Judiciary; waives clause 3 )c)(4) of Rule XIII against consideration; makes in order Judiciary substitute as modified by self- executing provision in part A of Rules' report; allows only those amendments printed in part B of the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	14 amendments submitted, all <u>5 amendments in order 4D</u> <u>and 1R(self executing</u> <u>provision)(which was removed</u> <u>and added to</u> <u>Skelton/Maloney amendment</u> <u>pursuant to u/c request during</u> <u>Floor consideration of rule</u> <b>rule amended on Floor</b>

H.R. 4181 4/27/04 5:00 pm NR SE Restrictive rule	To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the increased standard deduction, and the 15-percent individual income tax rate bracket expansion, for married taxpayers filing joint returns- a.ka. make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty Ways & Means	H.Res. 607 McGovern/Myric k voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House, self-executes the substitute printed in Part A of Rules' report; bill considered as read; allows only Rangel substitute printed in Part B of Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against substitute	bill not reported <u>1D amendment submitted and</u> <u>made in order</u>
H.R. 4227 5/4/04 5:00 pm NR PQ Restrictive rule	Middle-Class Alternative Minimum Tax Relief Act of 2004 <b>-a.k.a. AMT</b> Ways & Means	H.Res. 619 Hastings(FL)/Lin der voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House; allows only Rangel substitute printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against substitute	bill not reported <u>1D amendment submitted and</u> <u>made in order</u>
H.Res. 627 5/6/04(leg day 5/5/04) ^* 7:00 am E NR PQ Closed rule	Deploring the abuse of persona in the U.S. custody in Iraq, regardless of the circumstances of their detention, urging the Secretary of the Army to bring to swift justice any member of the Armed Forces who has violated the Uniform Code of Military Justice, expressing the deep appreciation of the Nation to the courageous and honorable members of the Armed Forces who have selflessly served, or are currently serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom, and for other purposes Armed Services	H.Res. 628 McGovern/Hasti ngs(WA) voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; motion to recommit may not contain instructions	bill not reported recommit with instructions denied
H.R. 4275 5/11/04 5:00 pm NR PQ Restrictive rule	To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the 10-percent income tax rate bracket Ways & Means	H.Res. 637 Frost/Sessions voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House; allows only Rangel substitute printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against substitute	bill not reported <u>1D amendment submitted and</u> <u>made in order</u>

H.R. 4279- <b>R</b> H.R. 4280- <b>C</b> H.R. 4281- <b>R</b> (3 bills-1 rule) 5/11/04 NR-all PQ Restrictive rule Closed rule Restrictive rule	<ol> <li>To Provide for disposition of unused health benefits in cafeteria plans and Flexible spending arrangements</li> <li>Help Efficient, Accessible, Low-Cost, Timely Healthcare Act (HEALTH) of 2004</li> <li>Small Business Health Fairness Act (AHPs) of 2004</li> <li>Ways &amp; Means Energy &amp; Commerce Education &amp; the Workforce</li> </ol>	H.Res. 638 Slaughter/Pryce voice vote	<ul> <li>Restrictive-H.R. 4279-consideration in House; Rangel substitute with all points of order waived</li> <li>Closed-H.R. 4280-consideration in House</li> <li>Restrictive-H.R. 4281-consideration in House; Kind substitute with all points of order waived</li> <li>combines text of all bills into H.R. 4279</li> </ul>	All 3 bills not reported <u>1D amendment submitted and</u> <u>made in order</u> <u>12 D &amp; 1R submitted none</u> <u>made in order</u> <u>3D amendments submitted,</u> <u>1D made in order</u> <b>3 bills in 1 rule</b>
H.R. 4359 5/17/04 7:45 pm NR Restrictive rule	Child Credit Preservation & Expansion Act of 2004 Ways & Means	H.Res. 644 Slaughter/Pryce voice vote	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House; allows only Rangel substitute printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against substitute	bill not reported <u>1D amendment submitted and</u> <u>made in order</u>
H.R. 2728-C H.R. 2729-C H.R. 2730-C H.R. 2731-C H.R. 2432-R (5-bills-1 rule) 5/17/04 SE-4 bills Closed rule Closed rule Closed rule Closed rule Restrictive rule	<ol> <li>1) The Occupational Safety &amp;Health Small Business Day in Court Act</li> <li>2) The Occupational Safety &amp; Health Review Commission Efficiency Act</li> <li>3) The Occupational Safety and Health Independent Review of OSHA Citations Act</li> <li>4) The Occupational Safety &amp;Health Small Employer Access to Justice Act</li> <li>5) The Paperwork &amp; Regulatory Improvements Act</li> <li>Education &amp; the Workforce (1-4) Government Reform(5)</li> </ol>	H.Res. 645 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions voice	Closed-H.R. 2728-self executes committee reported bill with amendment; consideration in House Closed-H.R. 2729-self executes committee reported bill with amendment; consideration in House Closed-H.R. 2730-self executes committee reported bill with amendment; consideration in House Closed-H.R. 2731-self executes committee reported bill with amendment; consideration in House Restrictive-H.R. 2432; makes in order Ose and Waxman amendments and waives all points of order against amendments combines text of all bills into H.R. 2728	<ul> <li><u>4-education bills had no D</u> <u>amendments submitted; made</u> <u>in order and self executed 4 R</u> <u>amendments</u></li> <li><u>Government reform bill had</u> <u>1R &amp; 1D submitted, both</u> <u>made in order</u></li> <li>5 bills in 1 rule</li> </ul>
H.R. 4200 5/19/04 (leg day 5/18/04) ^*7:00 am PQ Restrictive rule	National Defense Authorization Act for FY05- <b>DoD</b> authorization Armed Services	H.Res. 648 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -two hours general debate; makes in order Armed Services substitute considered as read; allows only those amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; allows en bloc if offered by Chairman of Armed Services; allows statements to be inserted when en bloc	126 total amendments submitted <u>28 amendment in order, 16R,</u> <u>9D, &amp; 3 bi</u> <u>4 additional amendments</u> <u>added by u/c on Floor</u>

CF for S.Con.Res. 95 5/19/04 (leg day 5/18/04) ^*7:00 am E SE PQ Conference Rule plus	Conference Report for Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for FY05- <b>1 year budget</b> <b>agreement</b> Budget Committee	H.Res. 649 McGovern/ Hastings(WA) 7-4	<b>Conference report plus</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read; provides that House passed conf. shall have force of passed conf; provides nothing in sec2 is construed to engage rule XXVII; discharges conference for H.R. 2660 (Labor/HHS FY04)	<u>3-day layover waived</u> conference discharges unrelated Labor/HHS approps conf to stop Dems from motions to instruct
H.R. 444 6/1/04 *8:00 pm SE NT A PQ Closed rule	Back to Work Incentive Act of 2003 Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 656 Slaughter/Pryce 8-2	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; self- executes text of H.R. 4444 as base bill; section 2 provides that in the engrossment of H.R. 444 the texts of H.R. 4409 & 4410 (as passed under suspension) are incorporated into H.R. 444 and lays those two bills on table	4 amendments submitted, 3D & 1R <u>no amendments in order</u> Rule amended on Floor to change H.R. 4410 to H.R. 4411
H.J.Res. 83 6/1/04 *8:00 pm PQ (no text) Closed rule	Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the US regarding the appointment of individuals to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives(a.k.a. continuity of congress) Judiciary Committee	H.Res. 657 McGovern/ Hastings(WA) 8-2	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House. Resolution considered as read; previous question order except for 90 minutes of general debate controlled by Judiciary	2R amendments submitted <u>no amendments in order</u>
H.R. 4503 H.R. 4517 6/14/04 *8:00 pm <b>1 rule-2 bills</b> both NR PQ (vote only) Closed rule (s) both	Energy Policy Act of 2004 (identical to Energy Conference passed by House last fall) & Refinery Revitalization Act of 2004 Energy & Commerce/Resources/Ways & Means	H.Res. 671 McGovern/ Hastings(WA) voice	Closed-H.R. 4503-consideration in the House; 40 minutes debate for Energy & Commerce; 10 minutes for Resources; 10 minutes for Ways & Means Closed-Sec 2-H.r. 4517consideration in the House; 60 minutes debate for Energy & Commerce	Both bills not reported 16 amendments submitted(14 for H.R. 4503, 13D, 1Bi <u>no amendments in order to</u> <u>either bill</u> Energy bill identical to passed conference report on H.R. 6

H.R. 4513 H.R. 4529 6/14/04 *8:00 p.m <b>1 rule-2 bills</b> both NR PQ (vote only) Restrictive rule(s) both	Renewable Energy Project Siting Improvement Act of 2004 & Arctic Coastal Plain & Surface Mining Improvement Act of 2004 Resources/Ways & Means	H.Res. 672 Hastings(FL)/ Reynolds voice	<ul> <li>Restrictive-H.R. 4513-consideration in the House; allows only Pombo mgrs. amendment printed in Part A of Rules' report as specified; all points of order against amendment</li> <li>Restrictive-Sec 2-consideration in the House; allows only Pombo mgrs. amendment printed in Part B of Rules' report as specified; all points of order against amendment</li> </ul>	Both bills not reported
H.R. 4568 6/15/04 5:30 pm Open rule	Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act FY2005 Appropriations	H.Res. 674 Slaughter/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against specified portions of the bill	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 2R, 1D amendments submitted <u>no waivers given</u>
H.R. 4567 6/15/04 5:30 pm E PQ Open rule	Department of Homeland Security Appropriations FY2005 Appropriations	H.Res. 675 Slaughter/ Diaz-Balart 7-4	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against specified portions of the bill	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 1R, 8D amendments submitted <u>no waivers given</u>
H.R. 4520 6/17/04(leg day 6/16/04) ^*7:00 am E SE PQ Closed rule	American Jobs Creation Act of 2004 <b>a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax bill</b> Ways and Means	H.Res. 681 McGovern/Reyn olds 9-3	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House; makes in order Ways & Means substitute as modified by self-executing provision in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the bill as amended and against its consideration	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 21 amendments, 2R, 18D, 1Bi <u>Only R Mgrs. self-executing</u> <u>amendment made in order</u>
H.R. 4613 6/21/04 7:00 pm SE PQ Open rule	Department of Defense Appropriations FY2005 Appropriations	H.Res. 683 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; self-executes amendment in Rules' report; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against the bill Sec. 2- allows the House/Senate to adjourn during the month of July	2D amendments submitted only self-executing <u>amemdment allowed</u> (would allow for increase in debt ceiling)

H.R. 4548 6/22/04 *8:00 pm E PQ Restrictive rule	Intelligence Authorization Act for FY2005	H.Res. 686 Slaughter/Myrick 6-3	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Intelligence Committee substitute; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	18 amendments submitted, 1 withdrawn <u>7R &amp; 3D amendments in</u> order
H.R. 4663 6/24/04(leg day 6/23/04) ^*7:00 am NR E PQ Restrictive rule	Spending Control Act of 2004 <b>a.k.a budget enforcement</b> Budget	H.Res. 692 Slaughter/ Hastings(WA) 9-2	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments; if a substitute is adopted only the last amendments will be in order	bill not reported 28 amendments submitted, 20R, 4D, 4, Bi <u>19 amendments in order, 16R,</u> <u>1D, 2Bi</u>
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of H.R. 4614 6/24/04 (leg day 6/23/04) ^*7:00 am E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of Energy & Water Development Appropriations Act of FY2005	H.Res. 693 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds for</b> <b>consideration of H.R.</b> 4614 on June 24, 2004	rule not used
H.R. 4614 6/24/04 *11:00 pm E PQ Open rule	Energy & Water Development Appropriations Act of FY2005	H.Res. 694 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against specified portions of the bill	1D submitted <u>no waivers given</u> See out of order page for next rule, H.Res. 711
H.R. 4759 7/13/04 6:30 pm E Closed rule	United States-Australia Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act a.k.a. fast track items done by rule to shorten debate time Ways & Means	H.Res. 712 McGovern/Dreie r voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in House; waives all points of order against consideration; 2 hours general debate; pursuant to section 151(f)(2) of Trade Act of 1974 previous question ordered to final passage without intervening motion; allows Speaker to postpone further consideration of bill	

H.R. 4818 7/14/04 3:00 pm E Open rule	Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs FY05 Appropriations Appropriations	H.Res. 715 Frost/Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against specified portions of the bill	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 4D amendments submitted <u>no waivers given</u>
H.R. 4850 7/19/04 7:10 pm Open rule	District of Columbia FY04 Appropriations Appropriations	H.Res. 724 Hastings(FL)/Lin der voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against specified portions of the bill	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
H.R. 3574 7/19/04 7:10 pm Restrictive rule	Stock Option Accounting Reform Act Financial Services	H.Res. 725 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; allows only amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	2R, 3D amendments submitted (2R's nearly identical) <u>1R, 3D in order</u>
CF for H.R. 2443 7/20/04 4:30 pm E Conference Report rule	Conference report on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Act of 2004 Transportation & Infrastructure	H.Res. 730 Hastings(FL)/ Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R. 1308 7/20/04 6:45 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of the Conference report to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to accelerate the increase in the refundability of the child tax credit Ways & Means	H.Res. 731 Hastings(FL)/ Reynolds voice	Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of conference on H.R. 1308 on July 21, 2004	rule not used
H.R. 4837 7/20/04 6:45 pm PQ Open rule	Military Construction FY04 Appropriations Appropriations	H.Res. 732 Frost/Myrick voice vote	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against specified portions of the bill	2D amendments submitted plus Frost motion to protect military housing provision <u>no waivers given</u>

H.R. 3313 7/21/04 5:50 pm SE Closed rule	Marriage Protection Act of 2004 <b>anti-gay marriage</b> Judiciary	H.Res. 734 McGovern/Myric k 7-3	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in House; 90 minutes debate; self-executes Judiciary substitute	no amendments submitted (all withdrawn)
CF for H.R. 4613 7/21/04 5:50 pm E	Conference report on Department of Defense FY04 Appropriations	H.Res. 735 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Conference Report rule	Appropriations			
H.R. 4842 7/22/04 (leg day 7/21/04) ^*7:00 am E	US-Morocco Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act a.k.a. fast track items done by rule to shorten debate time	H.Res. 738 Slaughter/ Diaz-Balart voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in House; waives all points of order against consideration; 2 hours general debate; pursuant to section 151(f)(2) of Trade Act of 1974 previous question ordered to final passage without	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Closed rule	Ways & Means		intervening motion; allows Speaker to postpone further consideration of bill	
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R. 1308 7/22/04(leg day 7/21/04) ^*7:00 am E	Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of the Conference report to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to accelerate the increase in the refundability of the child tax credit	H.Res. 739 Hastings(FL)/ Reynolds voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds for</b> <b>consideration of conference on H.R.</b> 1308 on July 22, 2004	rule not used
Procedural rule	Ways & Means			
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for bill to extend highway bill 7/22/04(leg day 7/21/04) ^*7:00 am E	Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of a bill providing for a short-term extension of highway bill (TEA-21) on 7/22/04	H.Res. 740 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds for</b> <b>consideration of</b> a short-term extension of highway bill (TEA-21) on July 22, 2004	rule not used, new bill done by u/c on 7/22/04 (H.R. 4916)
Procedural rule	Transportation & Infrastructure			

H.R. 5006 9/7/04 6:45 pm PQ Open rule	Department of Labor/HHS/Education & Related Agencies FY05 Appropriations Appropriations	H.Res. 754 Slaughter/Pryce voice	<b>Open-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; waives clause 2, Rule XXI against specified portions of the bill	<u>3-day layover waived</u> waivers not given to Obey amendment
H.R. 4571 9/13/04 *8:10 pm SE Restrictive rule	Lawsuit Abuse Reduction Act of 2004 Judiciary	H.Res. 766 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; self-executes Judiciary substitute; allows only Turner substitute printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendment	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 1D amendment submitted and made in order
*****out of order in chart H.R. 2828 7/8/04 5:40 pm E SE PQ	Water Supply, Reliability, and Environmental Improvement Act <b>a.k.a. CafFed water</b>	H.Res. 711 McGovern/ Hastings (WA) voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; self-executes Resources substitute; waives all points of order against bill as amended; allows only Calvert/Pombo substitute printed in Rules' report; waives all points of order against amendment	6 amendments submitted, all but 1 withdrawn
Restrictive rule	Resources			
H.R. 5025 9/14/04 12:45 pm SD E PQ Open rule	Transportation, Treasury, & Independent Agencies FY05 Appropriations	H.Res. 770 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Open</b> -waives all points of order against consideration	Rule considered on the Floor on the same day as reported from Rules but without martial law rule. Consideration done by voice vote on Floor Substantial dispute between authorizers and appropriators caused bill to go to Floor with no protection from Rule XXI or other Rule 3 Democratic amendments/motions offered but not given waivers

2 <sup>nd</sup> - Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R. 1308 9/21/04 7:15 pm E Procedural rule	2 <sup>nd</sup> -Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of the Conference report to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to accelerate the increase in the refundability of the child tax credit Ways and Means	H.Res. 780 Slaughter/Reynol ds voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on H.R. 1308 on September 22, 2004	2 <sup>nd</sup> martial law (2/3rds) rule done for conference for H.R. 1308 <b>rule not used</b>
H.R. 2028 9/21/04 7:15 pm Restrictive	Pledge Protection Act of 2004 Judiciary	H.Res. 781 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Judiciary substitute; waives all points of order against substitute; allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	<u>3-day layover waived</u> 2R & 2D amendments submitted <u>1R, 2D in order</u>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R. 1308 9/22/04 6:45 pm E PQ Procedural rule	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> -Waiving 2/3rds on</b> <b>Sepember 23, 2004 for</b> <b>consideration of</b> the Conference report to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to accelerate the increase in the refundability of the child tax credit Ways and Means	H.Res. 785 Slaughter/Reynol ds voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on H.R. 1308 on September 23, 2004	3 <sup>rd</sup> martial law (2/3rds) rule done for conference for H.R. 1308
CF for H.R. 1308 9/23/04 5:15 pm E PQ Conference Report rule	Conference Report for The Working Families Tax Relief Act of 2004 a.k.a. to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to accelerate the increase in the refundability of the child tax credit Ways and Means	H.Res. 794 Slaughter/Reynol ds voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u> due pursuant to 2/3rds rule H.Res. 785
H.J.Res. 106 9/28/04 7:15 pm NR Closed rule	Proposing an amendment to theConstitution of the United States relating to Marriage <b>a.k.a.</b> <b>to ban gay marriages</b> Ways and Means	H.Res. 801 McGovern/Myric k 6-2	<b>Closed-</b> consideration in the House; 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> hours general debate controlled by Majority & Minority leaders; Chair may post pone consideration until a time designated by the Speaker	bill not reported 5R amendments submitted, none in order

<b>1<sup>st</sup> C/R</b> H.J.Res. 107 9/28/04 7:15 pm NR E Closed rule	1 <sup>st</sup> Making Continuing Appropriations for FY05 (through November 20, 2004) Appropriations	H.Res. 802 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	bill not reported 1 <sup>st</sup> FY05 C/R through November 20, 2004
H.R. 3193 9/28/04 7:15 pm NR SE Closed rule	District of Columbia Personal Protection Act <b>a.k.a. repeal DC</b> gun ban Judiciary	H.Res. 803 Slaughter/ Hastings(WA) voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; self-executes amendment printed in Rules' report	bill not reported Rule managed on Floor by McGovern
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of a highway extension 9/29/04 E	Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of a bill to provide an extension of TEA-21 highway bill (6 <sup>th</sup> extension)	H.Res. 807 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of highway extension on September 30, 2004	
Procedural rule	Transportation & Infrastructure			
H.R. 5183 9/30/04 10:00 am NR E Closed rule	Surface Transportation Act of 2004 Part V <b>a.k.a. 6</b> <sup>th</sup> <b>Highway</b> <b>Extension</b> Transportation and Infrastructure	H.Res. 811 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	bill not reported due pursuant to 2/3rds rule H.Res. 807
S. 878 10/4/04 7:00 pm PQ (vote only) Restrictive rule	Bankruptcy Judgeship Act a.k.a. a bill to create additional Federal Judgeships Judiciary	H.Res. 814 Slaughter/Session s voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Judiciary substitute; allows only amendments printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments	2D, 3R, 1Bi amendment submitted <u>2R amendments in order</u>

Iaking Emergency FY05 upplemental Appropriations for dditional disaster assistance elating to storm damage <b>a.k.a.</b> <b>EMA hurricane</b>	H.Res. 819 Hastings(FL)/ Putnam voice	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; allows only Hensarling amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the report	7D, 2R amendments submitted <u>2R in order (one added after</u> rule was amended on Floor)
ppropriations		rule amended on Floor to provide consideration in the Committee of the Whole and to include Neugebauer drought relief with offset from Farm bill conservation program	
Conference report for District of Columbia FY05 Appropriations	H.Res. 822 Hastings(FL)/ Linder voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
ppropriations			
ustice for all Act <b>a.k.a. Debbie mith DNA</b> udiciary	H.Res. 823 Hastings(FL)/ Myrick	<b>Restrictive</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; allows only Sensenbrenner amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the amendment	<u>1R submitted and made in</u> order
/11 Commission ecommendations mplementation Act ntelligence/Armed ervices/Financial Services/ Government Reform/ adiciary/International Relations	H.Res. 827 Frost/Linder voice	<b>Restrictive-</b> waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order Rules Committee print as original text; waives all points of order against substitute; provides 3 hours and 40 minutes of general debate as follows: Intelligence-40, Armed Services-30, Financial Services-30, Government Reform-30, Judiciary-20, International Relations-20, Transportation-20, and Homeland Security-20, allows only those amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order	New text as base bill 50 amendments submitted, all D withdrawn except Menendez substitute, remaining were mostly R with a few bipartisan amendment <u>1D (substitute), 2 Bi, 19 R</u> <u>amendments in order</u>
$\frac{del(\mathbf{r})}{\mathbf{r}} = \frac{p}{2}$	ditional disaster assistance ating to storm damage <b>a.k.a.</b> EMA hurricane opropriations onference report for District of olumbia FY05 Appropriations opropriations stice for all Act <b>a.k.a. Debbie</b> <b>hith DNA</b> diciary 11 Commission commendations oplementation Act telligence/Armed rvices/Financial Services/ overnment Reform/	ditional disaster assistance ating to storm damage a.k.a.       Putnam voice         oppropriations       voice         oppropriations       H.Res. 822 Hastings(FL)/ Linder voice         opropriations       H.Res. 822 Hastings(FL)/ Linder         opropriations       H.Res. 822 Hastings(FL)/ Linder         opropriations       H.Res. 822 Hastings(FL)/ Linder         opropriations       H.Res. 823 Hastings(FL)/ Myrick         diciary       H.Res. 823 Hastings(FL)/ Myrick         11 Commission commendations plementation Act       H.Res. 827 Frost/Linder voice         telligence/Armed rvices/Financial Services/ overnment Reform/ diciary/International Relations ransportation/Homeland	ditional disaster assistance aring to storm damage a.k.a.Putnam voiceconsideration; allows only Hensarling amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the reportppropriationsvoicerule amended on Floor to provide consideration in the Committee of the Whole and to include Neugebauer drought relief with offset from Farm bill conservation programonference report for District of plumbia FY05 AppropriationsH.Res. 822 Hastings(FL)/ Linder voiceConference report -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report consideration; conference report and against its consideration; conference report and against its consideration; conference report and against its consideration; conference report as readpropriationsH.Res. 823 Hastings(FL)/ MyrickRestrictive-consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration; allows only Sensenbrenner amendment printed in Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against the amendment the amendment11 Commission commendations plementation ActH.Res. 827 Frost/Linder voiceRestrictive-waives all points of order against consideration; makes in order rules of order against substitute; provides 3 hours and 40 minutes of general debate as follows: Intelligence-40, Armed Services-30, Government Reform-30, Judiciary-20, International Refations-20, Transportation-20, and Homelandticiary/International Relations ransportation/HomelandForder against against amendments printed in the Rules' report as specified; waives all points of order against amendments

Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R.4520 10/7/04 (leg day 10/6/04) ^*7:00 am E	Waiving 2/3rds on October 7, 2004 for consideration of CF for America Jobs Creation Act a.k.a. FSC/ETI Tax	H.Res. 828 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on H.R. 4520 on October 7, 2004	
Procedural rule	Ways and Means			
Providing for suspension day on October 7, 2004 10/7/04 (leg day 10/6/04) ^*7:00 am E	Providing for Consideration of Motions to Suspend the Rules on Thursday, October 7, 2004	H.Res. 829 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions voice	<b>Procedural rule:</b> allows suspensions on Thursday, October 7, 2004; The Speaker shall consult with the Minority Leader on items to be considered	rule not used
Procedural rule	Rules			
CF for H.R. 4520 10/7/04 3:30 pm E Conference report rule	Conference Report for America Jobs Creation Act <b>a.k.a.</b> <b>FSC/ETI Tax</b> Ways and Means	H.Res. 830 McGovern/Reyn olds voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u> due pursuant to 2/3rds rule H.Res. 828
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R.4200 10/7/04 3:30 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of CF for Department of Defense Authorization for FY05 Armed Services	H.Res. 831 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on H.R. 4200 on October 8, 2004	
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R.4837 10/7/04 *9:30 pm E	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of CF for Military Construction FY05 Appropriations	H.Res. 832 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on H.R. 4837 on October 8, 2004	rule passed 10/8/04 but conference done by u/c on Floor on 10/9/04
Procedural rule	Appropriations			

Providing for suspension day on October 8, 2004 10/7/04 *9:30 pm E Procedural rule	Providing for Consideration of Motions to Suspend the Rules on Friday, October 8, 2004 Rules	H.Res. 833 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions vote	<b>Procedural rule:</b> allows suspensions on Friday, October 8, 2004; The Speaker shall consult with the Minority Leader on items to be considered	rule not used
	Kuics			
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R. 4567 10/7/04 *9:30 pm E	Waiving 2/3rds on October 8, 2004 for consideration of CF for Homeland Security FY05 Appropriations	H.Res. 834 Frost/Diaz-Balart vote	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on H.R. 4567 on October 8, 2004	rule not used conference done by u/c on Floor on 10/9/04
Procedural rule	Appropriations			
CF for H.R. 4200 10/8/04 1:15 pm E PQ Conference report	Conference Report for Department of Defense Authorization for FY05	H.Res. 843 Frost/Myrick voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u> due pursuant to 2/3rds rule H.Res. 831
rule	Armed Services			
Waiving 2/3rds for any FY05 appropriations item on or before 11/20/04 10/9/04 ^*9:00 am E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds through November 20, 2004, of any rule for a C/R for FY05, any FY05 general appropriations bill, joint resolution, amendment thereto, or conference report thereon Appropriations	H.Res. 846 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions voice	<b>Procedural rule</b> : allows same day consideration, through November 20, 2004, of any rule for a C/R for FY05, any FY05 general appropriations bill, joint resolution, amendment thereto, or conference report thereon	This martial law rule is for numerous appropriations items through November 20, 2004
S. 2986 11/17/04 5:00 pm E NR PQ	A bill to Increase the Public Debt ( <b>ceiling</b> )	H.Res. 856 Slaughter/Reynol ds voice	<b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	1D amendment offered <u>No amendments in order</u>
Closed rule	Ways & Means			

CF for H.R. 1350 11/18/04 *9:00 pm E Conference report rule	Conference Report for Individuals with Disabilities Improvement Act of 2004 <b>a.k.a.</b> <b>IDEA</b> Education & the Workforce	H.Res. 858 McGovern/Sessi ons voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>
Providing for suspension day on November 19, 2004 11/18/04 *9:00 pm E Procedural rule	Providing for Consideration of Motions to Suspend the Rules on Friday, November 19, 2004 Rules	H.Res. 859 Hastings(FL)/ Sessions voice	<b>Procedural rule:</b> allows suspensions on Friday, November 19, 2004; The Speaker shall consult with the Minority Leader on items to be considered	
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for S. 2845 on November 20, 2004 11/18/04 *9:00 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on November 20, 2004 for consideration of CF for consideration or disposition of a conference report to reform the intelligence community and intelligence- related activities of the U.S. Government-9/11 Commission recommendations Intelligence (& seven others)	H.Res. 860 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on S. 2845 on November 20, 2004	rule not used
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for H.R. 4548 on November 20, 2004 11/18/04 *11:00 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on November 20, 2004 for consideration of CF for consideration or disposition of a conference report to authorize appropriations for intelligence and intelligence related activities for the US government. Intelligence	H.Res. 861 Hastings(FL)/ Myrick voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on H.R. 4548 on November 20, 2004	rule not used

CF for H.R. 4818 & H.J.Res. 114 +2 bills 1 rule 11/20/04 9:00 am E NR-c/r A Conference report rule & closed rule	Conference Report for Consolidated Appropriations Act FY2005 ( <b>Omnibus</b> <b>appropriations</b> ) & Continuing Resolution for FY05 through December 3, 2004	H.Res. 866 Frost/Putnam voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read & Section 2. <b>Closed</b> -consideration in the House; waives all points of order against consideration	<ul> <li><u>3-day layover waived on</u> <u>conference report</u></li> <li>Continuing Resolution not reported</li> <li><b>2 bills - one rule</b> done pursuant to H.Res. 846</li> </ul>
Waiving 2/3rds for consideration of CF for S. 2845 on December 7, 2004 12/6/04 6:18 pm E Procedural rule	Waiving 2/3rds on December 7, 2004 for consideration of CF for consideration or disposition of a conference report to reform the intelligence community and intelligence-related activities of the U.S. Government-9/11 Commission recommendations Intelligence (& seven others)	H.Res. 868 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Procedural-Waiving 2/3rds</b> for consideration of conference on S. 2845 on December 7, 2004	
CF for S. 2845 3:34 pm 12/7/04 E Conference report rule	Conference report for National Intelligence Report Act of 2004- 9/11 Commission recommendations Intelligence (& seven others)	H.Res. 870 Slaughter/Linder voice	<b>Conference report</b> -waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration; conference report considered as read	<u>3-day layover waived</u>

amendments counted include manager's amendments and self-executing amendments

SH-Senate hook-up
PQ-previous question offered on Rule
NR-bill not reported from Committee
NT-new text made in order as base bill
SE-self-executing rule
E-emergency measure
OJ-original jurisdiction
PP-requires amendments be preprinted in *Congressional Record*\* rule reported after 8:00 pm (same legislative day)
^ rule reported after 6:30 a.m. (same legislative day)
+ rule provides for consideration of more than one measure

\* rule reported after 8:00 p.m. (including same legislative day but new calendar day) ^ rule reported after 6:30 a.m. or later (same legislative day, new calendar day) \*\*new text presented at Rules meeting

# This chart does not include conference reports or generic procedural bills (i.e. waiving 2/3 rds, providing for suspension days)

#### This conference report is included in the statistics because it incorporates two other non-related items

This conference report was included in the statistics because it was not a traditional conference report but a vehicle for a massive omnibus appropriations/end of year bill

Committee(s) listed under legislation title is primary committee of jurisdiction.

#### **Rules** Committee

#### 108th Congress Statistics summary for open vs. restrictive vs. closed rules:

<u>In the first session of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress–FINAL</u> (includes multiple bills in one rule, excludes conference reports & general procedural bills)

#### 68 Rules

19 closed -27.9%33 restrictive - 48.5% 16 open – 23.5%

<u>In the second session of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress-FINAL</u> (includes multiple bills in one rule, excludes conference reports & general procedural bills)

60 Rules

17 closed -28.3 % 31 restrictive - 51.7 % 12 open - 20 %

#### Both sessions of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress - FINAL

(includes multiple bills in one rule, excludes conference reports & general procedural bills)

128 Rules-

36 closed - 28 % 64 restrictive - 50 % 28 open - 22 %

This chart does not include conference reports or procedural bills (i.e. waiving 2/3 rds, providing for suspension days), the Rules Committee granted a total of 27 rules for conference reports and 34 procedural rules [28 rules waiving same/day 2/3rds consideration, 5 rules providing for suspension days, & 1 rule to recommit conference]

# Appendix V

# **103rd Congress - 193 Rules Reported**

# <u>1<sup>st</sup> Session - 99 Rules reported</u> <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session - 94 Rules reported</u>

### Summary (includes totals for both sessions)

193 total Rules:

- 49 open rules (21 of which are appropriations measures)
- 18 closed rules (+1 included in rules with multiple bills)
- 69 restrictive rules (+1 included in rules with multiple bills)

41 conference report rules

16 procedural rules (includes 6 general debate rules/9 rules waiving 2/3rds/1 rule providing for a suspension day)

# <u>Percentages based on 136 rules</u> (excluding procedural & conference report rules):

36% open rules 13% closed rules 51% restrictive rules

#### Rule breakdown for 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress

#### 1<sup>st</sup> Session:

*H.Res.* 18, 19, 20, 23, 30, 52-all original jurisdiction measures dealing with select committees

- H.Res. 58-R (H.R. 1-Family & Medical Leave Act)
- H.Res. 59-R(H.R. 2-National Voter Registration-motor voter)
- H.Res. 61-P(waiving 2/3ds-Family & Medical Leave)
- H.Res. 71-C( motion agreeing to Senate amendment to H.R. 1-Family & Medical Leave)
- H.Res. 81-R(H.R. 670-Family Planning Amendments Act)
- H.Res. 103-C(H.R. 920-Emergency Unemployment Compensation)
- H.Res. 106-R(H.R. 20-Federal Employees Political Activities Act-hatch act)
- H.Res. 111-P(waiving 2/3rds-H.R. 920-Emergency Unemployment Compensation)
- H.Res. 115-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment H.R. 920-Emergency Unemployment Compensation))
- H.Res. 119-R(H.R. 4-NIH Revitalization Act)
- H.Res. 130-P(general debate only rule H.R. 1335-Emergency Supplemental Approps.)
- H.Res. 131-P(general debate only rule H.Con.Res. 64-FY94 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 132-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule -H.R. 1335-Emergency Supplemental Approps.)
- H.Res. 133-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.Con.Res. 64-FY94 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 138-**R**(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 670-Family Planning Amendments Act)
- H.Res. 142-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.Con.Res. 64-FY94 Budget)
- H.Res. 145-Cf(Conference report on FY94 Budget)
- H.Res. 147-C(H.R. 1430-Temporary Increase in the Public Debt Limit)
- H.Res. 149-R(H.R. 1578-Expedited Rescissions Act FY93)
- H.Res. 150-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 1335-FY93 Emergency Supplemental)
- H.Res. 153-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 1335-FY93 Emergency Supplemental)
- H.Res. 163-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2-National Voter Registration)
- H.Res. 164-O(H.R. 820-National Competitive Act)
- H.Res. 171-O(H.R. 873-Gallatin Range Consolidation & Protection Act)
- H.Res. 172-O(H.R. 1159-Passenger Vessel Safety Act)
- H.Res. 173-R(S.J.Res. 45-Authorizing U.S. Armed Forces in Somalia)
- H.Res. 179-Cf(Conference on S.1-NIH Revitalization Act)
- H.Res. 183-O(H.R. 2244-Second FY93 Supplemental Appropriations)
- H.Res. 186-R(H.R. 2264-Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act)
- H.Res. 192-R(H.R. 2348-FY94 Legislative Branch Approps)
- H.Res. 193-O(H.R. 2200-NASA Authorization Act)

- H.Res. 195-R(H.R.5-National Labor Relations Act & Railway Labor Act)
- H.Res. 196-**P,P(1 rule for 2 bills-general debate rules only-**H.R. 2333-State Department & H.R. 2404-USIA Authorization)
- H.Res. 197-**R,R(1 rule for 2 bills–2nd rule-**H.R. 2333-State Department & H.R. 2404-USIA Authorization)
- H.Res. 199-C(H.R. 1876-Extension of Fast Track for GATT)
- H.Res. 200-R(H.R. 2295-FY94 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 201-O(H.R. 2403-FY94 Treasury/Postal Approps)
- H.Res. 203-O(H.R. 2445-FY94 Energy & Water Approps)
- H.Res. 204-O(H.R. 2446-FY94 Military Construction Approps)
- H.Res. 206-O(H.R. 2150-Coast Guard Authorization)
- H.Res. 208-O(H.R. 2491-FY94 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 210-O(H.R. 2492-FY94 District of Columbia Approps)
- H.Res. 211-O(H.R. 2490-FY94 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 214-O(H.R. 2520-FY94 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 215-P(general debate rule only-H.R. 2010-National Service Trust Act)
- H.Res. 216-Cf(Conference on H.R. 2118-FY93 Supplemental Approps).
- H.Res. 217-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 2010-National Service Trust Act)
- H.Res. 218-O(H.R. 2530-Bureau of Land Management Authorization)
- H.Res. 220-R(H.R. 2667-Emergency Supplemental for Midwest Flooding)
- H.Res. 221-O(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 2490-FY94 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 226-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 2667-Emergency Supplemental for Midwest Flooding)
- H.Res. 229-**R**(H.R. 2330-Intelligence Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 230-O(H.R. 1964-Maritime Administration Authorization)
- H.Res. 233-P(general debate rule only-H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 240-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2264-Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1993)
- H.Res. 241-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2010-National Service Trust Act)
- H.Res. 246-**R**(**2**<sup>nd</sup> **rule**-H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 248-**R**(3<sup>rd</sup> rule-H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 250-**R**(H.R. 1340-Resolution Trust Corporation Completion)
- H.Res. 251-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment to H.R. 20-Federal Employees Political Activities-Hatch act)
- H.Res. 252-**O**(**3**<sup>rd</sup> **rule**-H.R. 2750 -FY94 Transportation Approps-first two rules on H.R. 2490)
- H.Res. 254-R(4<sup>th</sup> rule- H.R. 2401-FY94 National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 259-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2295-FY94 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 260-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment with an amendment to H.R. 2493-FY94 Agriculture Approps)
- H.Res. 261-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2403-FY94 Treasury/Postal Approps)
- H.Res. 262-O(H.R. 1845-National Biological Survey Act)
- H.Res. 263-O(H.R. 3116-FY94-Department of Defense Approps)

- H.Res. 264-**R**(H.R. 2351-National Foundation on the Arts & Humanities, & the Museum Services Act)
- H.Res. 265-R(H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Extension)
- H.Res. 268-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2491-FY94 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 269-R(H.R. 2739-Aviation Infrastructure Investment)
- H.Res. 273-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Extension)
- H.Res. 274-R(H.R. 1804-Goals 2000-Educate America Act)
- H.Res. 275-Cf(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-Conference report on H.R. 2491-FY94 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 276-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2519-FY94 Commerce/Justice/State/Judiciary Approps)
- H.Res. 279-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2520-FY94 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 282-C(H.J.Res. 281-Making further FY94 Continuing Approps)
- H.Res. 283-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2492-FY94 District of Columbia Approps)
- H.Res. 286-O(H.R. 334-Lumbee Recognition Act)
- H.Res. 287-C(H.J.Res. 283-Making further FY94 Continuing Approps)
- H.Res. 289-O(H.R. 2152-Maritime Security & Competitiveness Act)
- H.Res. 293-R(H.Con.Res. 170-Removal of Armed Forces From Somalia)
- H.Res. 298-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Amendments)
- H.Res. 299-R(H.R. 1036-Employment Retirement Security Act-ERISA)
- H.Res. 301-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 3116-FY94 Department of Defense Approps)
- H.Res. 302-R(H.R. 1025-Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act-3-day waiting period)
- H.Res. 303-O(H.R. 322-Mineral Exploration & Development Act)
- H.Res. 304-C(H.J.Res. 288-Making further FY94 Continuing Approps)
- H.Res. 305-Cf(Conference on H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 311-C(H.R. 3450-To Implement the North American Free Trade Agreement-NAFTA)
- H.Res. 312-R(H.R. 3425-Department of Environmental Protection)
- H.Res. 313-**R**(H.R. 796-Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances)
- H.Res. 314-R(H.R. 3351-Alternative Punishments for Young Offenders-SAFE streets)
- H.Res. 316-**R**(H.R. 51-New Columbia Admission Act)
- H.Res. 317-Cf(Conference on S. 714-Resolution Trust Corporation Act)
- H.Res. 319-R(H.R. 3-Campaign Finance Reform Act)
- H.Res. 320-R(H.R. 3400-Government Reform & Savings Act)
- H.Res. 321-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Amendments)
- H.Res. 322-P(agreeing to Senate request for a conference on/and waiving 2/3rds on rule to consider a conference on-H.R. 1025-Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act)

#### <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Session Rules-103rd Congress</u>

- H.Res. 336-R(H.R. 3759-FY94 Emergency Supplemental Approps)
- H.Res. 352-R(H.R. 811-Independent Counsel Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 356-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 3759-Emergency Supplemental Approps)
- H.Res. 357-R(H.R. 3345-Federal Workforce Restructuring Act)
- H.Res. 366-**R**(H.R. 6-Improving America's Schools-elementary/secondary reauthorization)
- H.Res. 374-C(provide for Senate hookup with House text and request conference-S. 636-Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances)
- H.Res. 384-R(H.Con.Res. 218-FY95 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 388-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3345-Federal Workforce Restructuring Act)
- H.Res. 393-Cf(Conference on H.R. 1804-Goals 2000:Educate America Act)
- H.Res. 395-P(general debate only rule-H.R. 4092-Violent Crime Control & Law Enforcement)
- H.Res. 397-P(providing for suspension day to consider/&motion to go to conference-S, 349-to provide for disclosure of lobbying activities)
- H.Res. 401-R( 2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 4092-Violent Crime Control & Law Enforcement)
- H.Res. 410-**R**(H.R. 3221-Iraq Claims Act)
- H.Res. 414-O(H.R. 3254-National Science Foundation Authorization)
- H.Res. 416-C(H.R. 4296-Public Safety & recreational Firearms Use Protection Act)
- H.Res. 417-Cf(Conference on S. 636-Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act)
- H.Res. 418-Cf(Conference on H.Con.Res. 218-FY95 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 420-O(H.R. 2442-Economic Development Administration Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 421-Cf(Conference on S. 2000-Head Start & Community Services Block Grant Reauth)
- H.Res. 422-R(H.R. 518-California Desert Protection Act)
- H.Res. 423-O(H.R. 2473-Montana Wilderness Act)
- H.Res. 428-R(H.R. 2108-Black Lung Benefits Restoration Act)
- H.Res. 429-**R**(H.R. 4301-National Defense Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 431-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 4301-National Defense Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 433-O(H.R. 4453-FY95 Military Construction Approps)
- H.Res. 439-Cf(Conference on S. 24-Independent Counsel Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 440-R(H.R. 4385-National Highway System Designation Act)
- H.Res. 441-P(waiving 2/3rds-H.R. 4426-FY95 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 443-R(H.R. 4426-FY95 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 444-R(H.R. 4454-FY95 Legislative Branch Approps)
- H.Res. 447-O(H.R. 4539-FY95 Treasury/Postal Approps)
- H.Res. 449-O(H.R. 4506-FY95 Energy & water Approps)
- H.Res. 454-O(H.R. 4556-FY95 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 455-O(H.R. 4554-FY95 Agriculture Approps)

- H.Res. 458-O(H.R. 4602-FY95 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 461-O(H.R. 4603-FY95 Commerce/Justice/State Approps)
- H.Res. 465-O(H.R. 4624-FY95 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 466-O(H.R. 4649-FY95 District of Columbia Approps)
- H.Res. 467-R(H.R. 4600-Expedited Rescissions Act of 1994)
- H.Res. 468-R(H.R. 4299-Intelligence Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 469-O(H.R. 4650-FY95 Defense Department Approps)
- H.Res. 470-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4454-FY95 Legislative Branch Approps)
- H.Res. 474-R(H.R. 3937-Omnibus Export Administration Act)
- H.Res. 475-O(H.R. 1188-Anti-Redlining Insurance Disclosure Act)
- H.Res. 482-O(H.R. 3838-Housing & Community Development Act)
- H.Res. 483-O(H.R. 3870-Environmental Technologies Act)
- H.Res. 484-**R**(H.R. 4604-Budget Control Act)
- H.Res. 491-O(H.R. 2448-Radon Awareness & Disclosure Act)
- H.Res. 492-O(S. 208-National Park Service Concession Policy Reform)
- H.Res. 494-R(H.R. 4801-Small Business Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 495-C(H.Con.Res. 275-waiving Sec. 132 requirement for July sine die adjournment)
- H.Res. 500-R(H.R. 4003-Maritime Administration & Promotional Reform)
- H.Res. 501-O(S. 1357-Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians & Little River Band of Ottawa Indians Act)
- H.Res. 502-O(S. 1066-Restoration of Federal Services to Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians)
- H.Res. 504-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4426-FY95 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 505-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3841-Interstate Banking Efficiency Act)
- H.Res. 506-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3474-Community Development Banking & Financial Institutions)
- H.Res. 507-R(H.R. 4217-Federal Crop Insurance Reform Act)
- H.Res. 509-C,R(1 rule for 2 bills-1st- H.J.Res. 373&H.R. 4590-Disapproving of Extension of MFN to the People's Republic of China & 2nd-H.R. 4590-to providing conditions for renewing MFN treatment to the PRC)
- H.Res. 512-R(H.R. 4907-Full Budget Disclosure Act-baseline budgeting reform)
- H.Res. 513-R(H.R. 4906-Emergency spending Control Act)
- H.Res. 514-R(H.R. 4822-Congressional Accountability Act)
- H.Res. 515-O(H.R. 4980-Hydrogen, Fusion and High Energy & Nuclear Physics Research Act)
- H.Res. 516-R(H.R. 3433-provide management of Presidio under the Interior Secretary)
- H.Res. 517-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3355-Violent Crime Control & Law Enforcement)
- H.Res. 521-Cf(Conference on S. 2182-National Defense Authorization Act FY95)
- H.Res. 522-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 3355-Omnibus Crime Control & Safe Streets)
- H.Res. 523-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4603-FY95 Commerce/Justice/State Approps)

- H.Res. 526-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3355-Omnibus Crime Control & Safe Streets
- H.Res. 532-O(H.R. 4448-Lowell National Historical Park)
- H.Res. 535-O(H.R. 4422-Coast Guard Authorization Act)
- H.Res. 536-R(H.R. 2866-Headwaters Forest Act)
- H.Res. 537-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4539-FY95 Treasury/Postal Approps)
- H.Res. 542-O(H.R. 4008-National Oceanic & Atmospheric Administration Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 543-O(H.R. 4926-National Treatment in Banking Act)
- H.Res. 544-O(H.R. 3171-Department of Agriculture Reorganization Act)
- H.Res. 547-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4602-FY95 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 550-Cf(Conference on S. 349-Lobbying Disclosure Act)
- H.Res. 551-R(H.R. 4779-State & Local Government Interstate Waste Control Act)
- H.Res. 552-O(H.R. 4683-Flow Control Act)
- H.Res. 553-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4556-FY95 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 554-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4650-FY95 Defense Department Approps)
- H.Res. 555-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4299-Intelligence Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 556-Cf(Conference on H.R. 6-Improving America's Schoolselementary/secondary reauthorization
- H.Res. 562-R(H.R. 5044-American Heritage Area Partnership Act)
- H.Res. 563-R(H.Con.Res. 301-Sense of Congress Regarding Entitlements)
- H.Res. 564-C(H.R. 5110-Uruguay Round Agreements Act-fast track)
- H.Res. 565-R(S. 455-Payment in Lieu of Taxes Act)
- H.Res. 568-Cf(Conference on S.21-California Desert Protection Act)
- H.Res. 570-R(H.J.Res. 416-Limited Authorization for US led Force in Haiti)
- H.Res. 574-Cf(Conference on S. 1569-Minority Health Improvement Act)
- H.Res. 575-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment-H.R.1348-Quinebaug & Shetucket Rivers Valley National Heritage Center)
- H.Res. 576-C(H.R. 5231-provide management of Presidio under the Interior Secretary)

H.Res. 579-C(H.Res. 578-amending the Rules of the House to apply certain laws to the House)

# <u>103<sup>rd</sup> Congress rule breakdown by category:</u>

# **Restrictive rules - 69 Total**

# <u>Restrictive rules -1<sup>st</sup> Session 103<sup>rd</sup> (37 restrictive rules):</u>

H.Res. 58-R (H.R. 1-Family & Medical Leave Act)

- H.Res. 59-R(H.R. 2-National Voter Registration-motor voter)
- H.Res. 81-**R**(H.R. 670-Family Planning Amendments Act)
- H.Res. 106-R(H.R. 20-Federal Employees Political Activities Act-hatch act)
- H.Res. 119-R(H.R. 4-NIH Revitalization Act)
- H.Res. 132-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule -H.R. 1335-Emergency Supplemental Approps.)
- H.Res. 133-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.Con.Res. 64-FY94 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 138-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 670-Family Planning Amendments Act)
- H.Res. 149-R(H.R. 1578-Expedited Rescissions Act FY93)
- H.Res. 173-R(S.J.Res. 45-Authorizing U.S. Armed Forces in Somalia)
- H.Res. 186-**R**(H.R. 2264-Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act)
- H.Res. 192-R(H.R. 2348-FY94 Legislative Branch Approps)
- H.Res. 195-R(H.R.5-National Labor Relations Act & Railway Labor Act)
- H.Res. 197-**R,R(1 rule for 2 bills–2nd rule-**H.R. 2333-State Department & H.R. 2404-USIA Authorization)
- H.Res. 200-R(H.R. 2295-FY94 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 217-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 2010-National Service Trust Act)
- H.Res. 220-R(H.R. 2667-Emergency Supplemental for Midwest Flooding)
- H.Res. 226-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 2667-Emergency Supplemental for Midwest Flooding)
- H.Res. 229-R(H.R. 2330-Intelligence Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 246-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 248-R(3<sup>rd</sup> rule-H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 250-R(H.R. 1340-Resolution Trust Corporation Completion)
- H.Res. 254-R(4<sup>th</sup> rule- H.R. 2401-FY94 National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 264-**R**(H.R. 2351-National Foundation on the Arts & Humanities, & the Museum Services Act)
- H.Res. 265-R(H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Extension)
- H.Res. 269-R(H.R. 2739-Aviation Infrastructure Investment)
- H.Res. 273-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Extension)
- H.Res. 274-R(H.R. 1804-Goals 2000-Educate America Act)
- H.Res. 293-R(H.Con.Res. 170-Removal of Armed Forces From Somalia)
- H.Res. 299-R(H.R. 1036-Employment Retirement Security Act-ERISA)
- H.Res. 302-R(H.R. 1025-Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act-3-day waiting period)
- H.Res. 312-R(H.R. 3425-Department of Environmental Protection)
- H.Res. 313-R(H.R. 796-Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances)
- H.Res. 314-R(H.R. 3351-Alternative Punishments for Young Offenders-SAFE streets)
- H.Res. 316-R(H.R. 51-New Columbia Admission Act)
- H.Res. 319-R(H.R. 3-Campaign Finance Reform Act)
- H.Res. 320-R(H.R. 3400-Government Reform & Savings Act)

# <u>Restrictive rules 2<sup>nd</sup> Session –103rd Congres (32 restrictive rules):</u>

- H.Res. 336-R(H.R. 3759-FY94 Emergency Supplemental Approps)
- H.Res. 352-R(H.R. 811-Independent Counsel Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 357-R(H.R. 3345-Federal Workforce Restructuring Act)
- H.Res. 366-**R**(H.R. 6-Improving America's Schools-elementary/secondary reauthorization)
- H.Res. 384-R(H.Con.Res. 218-FY95 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 401-R( 2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 4092-Violent Crime Control & Law Enforcement)
- H.Res. 410-R(H.R. 3221-Iraq Claims Act)
- H.Res. 422-R(H.R. 518-California Desert Protection Act)
- H.Res. 428-R(H.R. 2108-Black Lung Benefits Restoration Act)
- H.Res. 429-R(H.R. 4301-National Defense Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 431-R(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 4301-National Defense Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 440-R(H.R. 4385-National Highway System Designation Act)
- H.Res. 443-R(H.R. 4426-FY95 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 444-R(H.R. 4454-FY95 Legislative Branch Approps)
- H.Res. 467-R(H.R. 4600-Expedited Rescissions Act of 1994)
- H.Res. 468-R(H.R. 4299-Intelligence Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 474-R(H.R. 3937-Omnibus Export Administration Act)
- H.Res. 484-R(H.R. 4604-Budget Control Act)
- H.Res. 494-R(H.R. 4801-Small Business Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 500-R(H.R. 4003-Maritime Administration & Promotional Reform)
- H.Res. 507-R(H.R. 4217-Federal Crop Insurance Reform Act)
- H.Res. 509-C,R(1 rule for 2 bills-1st- H.J.Res. 373&H.R. 4590-Disapproving of Extension of MFN to the People's Republic of China & 2nd-H.R. 4590-to providing conditions for renewing MFN treatment to the PRC)
- H.Res. 512-R(H.R. 4907-Full Budget Disclosure Act-baseline budgeting reform)
- H.Res. 513-R(H.R. 4906-Emergency spending Control Act)
- H.Res. 514-R(H.R. 4822-Congressional Accountability Act)
- H.Res. 516-R(H.R. 3433-provide management of Presidio under the Interior Secretary)
- H.Res. 536-R(H.R. 2866-Headwaters Forest Act)
- H.Res. 551-R(H.R. 4779-State & Local Government Interstate Waste Control Act)
- H.Res. 562-**R**(H.R. 5044-American Heritage Area Partnership Act)
- H.Res. 563-R(H.Con.Res. 301-Sense of Congress Regarding Entitlements)
- H.Res. 565-R(S. 455-Payment in Lieu of Taxes Act)
- H.Res. 570-R(H.J.Res. 416-Limited Authorization for US led Force in Haiti)

#### **Open rules - 49- Total**

#### **Open rules -1<sup>st</sup> Session 103<sup>rd</sup> (22 open rules):**

- H.Res. 164-**O**(H.R. 820-National Competitive Act)
- H.Res. 171-O(H.R. 873-Gallatin Range Consolidation & Protection Act)
- H.Res. 172-O(H.R. 1159-Passenger Vessel Safety Act)
- H.Res. 183-O(H.R. 2244-Second FY93 Supplemental Appropriations)
- H.Res. 193-O(H.R. 2200-NASA Authorization Act)
- H.Res. 201-O(H.R. 2403-FY94 Treasury/Postal Approps)
- H.Res. 203-O(H.R. 2445-FY94 Energy & Water Approps)
- H.Res. 204-O(H.R. 2446-FY94 Military Construction Approps)
- H.Res. 206-O(H.R. 2150-Coast Guard Authorization)
- H.Res. 208-O(H.R. 2491-FY94 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 210-O(H.R. 2492-FY94 District of Columbia Approps)
- H.Res. 211-O(H.R. 2490-FY94 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 214-O(H.R. 2520-FY94 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 218-O(H.R. 2530-Bureau of Land Management Authorization)
- H.Res. 221-O(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-H.R. 2490-FY94 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 230-O(H.R. 1964-Maritime Administration Authorization)
- H.Res. 252-**O**(**3**<sup>rd</sup> **rule**-H.R. 2750 -FY94 Transportation Approps-first two rules on H.R. 2490)
- H.Res. 262-O(H.R. 1845-National Biological Survey Act)
- H.Res. 263-O(H.R. 3116-FY94-Department of Defense Approps)
- H.Res. 286-O(H.R. 334-Lumbee Recognition Act)
- H.Res. 289-O(H.R. 2152-Maritime Security & Competitiveness Act)
- H.Res. 303-O(H.R. 322-Mineral Exploration & Development Act)

## **Open rules - 2<sup>nd</sup> Session 103<sup>rd</sup> (27 open rules):**

- H.Res. 414-O(H.R. 3254-National Science Foundation Authorization)
- H.Res. 420-O(H.R. 2442-Economic Development Administration Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 423-O(H.R. 2473-Montana Wilderness Act)
- H.Res. 433-O(H.R. 4453-FY95 Military Construction Approps)
- H.Res. 447-O(H.R. 4539-FY95 Treasury/Postal Approps)
- H.Res. 449-O(H.R. 4506-FY95 Energy & water Approps)
- H.Res. 454-O(H.R. 4556-FY95 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 455-O(H.R. 4554-FY95 Agriculture Approps)
- H.Res. 458-O(H.R. 4602-FY95 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 461-O(H.R. 4603-FY95 Commerce/Justice/State Approps)
- H.Res. 465-O(H.R. 4624-FY95 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 466-O(H.R. 4649-FY95 District of Columbia Approps)
- H.Res. 469-O(H.R. 4650-FY95 Defense Department Approps)
- H.Res. 475-O(H.R. 1188-Anti-Redlining Insurance Disclosure Act)

- H.Res. 482-O(H.R. 3838-Housing & Community Development Act)
- H.Res. 483-O(H.R. 3870-Environmental Technologies Act)
- H.Res. 491-O(H.R. 2448-Radon Awareness & Disclosure Act)
- H.Res. 492-O(S. 208-National Park Service Concession Policy Reform)
- H.Res. 501-O(S. 1357-Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians & Little River Band of Ottawa Indians Act)
- H.Res. 502-O(S. 1066-Restoration of Federal Services to Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians)
- H.Res. 515-O(H.R. 4980-Hydrogen, Fusion and High Energy & Nuclear Physics Research Act)
- H.Res. 532-O(H.R. 4448-Lowell National Historical Park)
- H.Res. 535-O(H.R. 4422-Coast Guard Authorization Act)
- H.Res. 542-**O**(H.R. 4008-National Oceanic & Atmospheric Administration Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 543-O(H.R. 4926-National Treatment in Banking Act)
- H.Res. 544-O(H.R. 3171-Department of Agriculture Reorganization Act)
- H.Res. 552-O(H.R. 4683-Flow Control Act)

#### **Closed rules - 18 Total**

<u>Closed rules - 1<sup>st</sup> Session-103rd Congress (11 closed rules):</u>

- H.Res. 71-C( motion agreeing to Senate amendment to H.R. 1-Family & Medical Leave)
- H.Res. 103-C(H.R. 920-Emergency Unemployment Compensation)
- H.Res. 115-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment H.R. 920-Emergency Unemployment Compensation))
- H.Res. 147-C(H.R. 1430-Temporary Increase in the Public Debt Limit)
- H.Res. 199-C(H.R. 1876-Extension of Fast Track for GATT)
- H.Res. 251-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment to H.R. 20-Federal Employees Political Activities-Hatch act)
- H.Res. 260-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment with an amendment to H.R. 2493-FY94 Agriculture Approps)
- H.Res. 282-C(H.J.Res. 281-Making further FY94 Continuing Approps)
- H.Res. 287-C(H.J.Res. 283-Making further FY94 Continuing Approps)
- H.Res. 304-C(H.J.Res. 288-Making further FY94 Continuing Approps)
- H.Res. 311-C(H.R. 3450-To Implement the North American Free Trade Agreement-NAFTA)

#### <u>Closed rules - 2<sup>nd</sup> Session-103rd Congress (7 closed rules)</u>:

- H.Res. 374-C(provide for Senate hookup with House text and request conference-S. 636-Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances)
- H.Res. 416-C(H.R. 4296-Public Safety & recreational Firearms Use Protection Act)
- H.Res. 495-C(H.Con.Res. 275-waiving Sec. 132 requirement for July sine die adjournment)

(The following rule contained a closed rule but is not included in the closed rules totals—it is included in the total for restrictive rules-H.Res. 509-C,R(1 rule for 2 bills-1st- H.J.Res. 373&H.R. 4590-Disapproving of Extension of MFN to the People's Republic of China & 2nd-H.R. 4590-to providing conditions for renewing MFN treatment to the PRC)

- H.Res. 564-C(H.R. 5110-Uruguay Round Agreements Act-fast track)
- H.Res. 575-C(motion agreeing to Senate amendment-H.R.1348-Quinebaug & Shetucket Rivers Valley National Heritage Center)
- H.Res. 576-C(H.R. 5231-provide management of Presidio under the Interior Secretary)
- H.Res. 579-C(H.Res. 578-amending the Rules of the House to apply certain laws to the House)

#### **Conference report rules - 41 total**

## Conference report rules 1<sup>st</sup> Session 103<sup>rd</sup> (18 rules):

- H.Res. 145-Cf(Conference report on FY94 Budget)
- H.Res. 163-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2-National Voter Registration)
- H.Res. 179-Cf(Conference on S.1-NIH Revitalization Act)
- H.Res. 216-Cf(Conference on H.R. 2118-FY93 Supplemental Approps).
- H.Res. 240-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2264-Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1993)
- H.Res. 241-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2010-National Service Trust Act)
- H.Res. 259-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2295-FY94 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 261-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2403-FY94 Treasury/Postal Approps)
- H.Res. 268-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2491-FY94 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 275-Cf(2<sup>nd</sup> rule-Conference report on H.R. 2491-FY94 VA/HUD Approps)
- H.Res. 276-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2519-FY94 Commerce/Justice/State/Judiciary Approps)
- H.Res. 279-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2520-FY94 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 283-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 2492-FY94 District of Columbia Approps)
- H.Res. 298-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Amendments)
- H.Res. 301-Cf(Conference report on H.R. 3116-FY94 Department of Defense Approps)
- H.Res. 305-Cf(Conference on H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 317-Cf(Conference on S. 714-Resolution Trust Corporation Act)
- H.Res. 321-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3167-Unemployment Compensation Amendments)

### Conference report rules 2<sup>nd</sup> Session 103rd (23 rules):

- H.Res. 388-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3345-Federal Workforce Restructuring Act)
- H.Res. 393-Cf(Conference on H.R. 1804-Goals 2000:Educate America Act)
- H.Res. 417-Cf(Conference on S. 636-Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act)
- H.Res. 418-Cf(Conference on H.Con.Res. 218-FY95 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 421-Cf(Conference on S. 2000-Head Start & Community Services Block Grant Reauth)
- H.Res. 439-Cf(Conference on S. 24-Independent Counsel Reauthorization)
- H.Res. 470-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4454-FY95 Legislative Branch Approps)
- H.Res. 504-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4426-FY95 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 505-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3841-Interstate Banking Efficiency Act)
- H.Res. 506-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3474-Community Development Banking & Financial Institutions)
- H.Res. 517-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3355-Violent Crime Control & Law Enforcement)
- H.Res. 521-Cf(Conference on S. 2182-National Defense Authorization Act FY95)
- H.Res. 523-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4603-FY95 Commerce/Justice/State Approps)
- H.Res. 526-Cf(Conference on H.R. 3355-Omnibus Crime Control & Safe Streets
- H.Res. 537-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4539-FY95 Treasury/Postal Approps)

- H.Res. 547-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4602-FY95 Interior Approps)
- H.Res. 550-Cf(Conference on S. 349-Lobbying Disclosure Act)
- H.Res. 553-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4556-FY95 Transportation Approps)
- H.Res. 554-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4650-FY95 Defense Department Approps)
- H.Res. 555-Cf(Conference on H.R. 4299-Intelligence Authorization FY95)
- H.Res. 556-Cf(Conference on H.R. 6-Improving America's Schoolselementary/secondary reauthorization
- H.Res. 568-Cf(Conference on S.21-California Desert Protection Act)
- H.Res. 574-Cf(Conference on S. 1569-Minority Health Improvement Act)

#### **Procedural rules - 16 - Total**

<u>Procedural rules 1<sup>st</sup> Session 103<sup>rd</sup> (11 rules):</u>

- H.Res. 61-P(waiving 2/3ds-Family & Medical Leave)
- H.Res. 111-P(waiving 2/3rds-H.R. 920-Emergency Unemployment Compensation)
- H.Res. 130-P(general debate only rule H.R. 1335-Emergency Supplemental Approps.)
- H.Res. 131-P(general debate only rule H.Con.Res. 64-FY94 Budget Resolution)
- H.Res. 142-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.Con.Res. 64-FY94 Budget)
- H.Res. 150-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 1335-FY93 Emergency Supplemental)
- H.Res. 153-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 1335-FY93 Emergency Supplemental)
- H.Res. 196-**P,P(1 rule for 2 bills-general debate rules only-**H.R. 2333-State Department & H.R. 2404-USIA Authorization)
- H.Res. 215-P(general debate rule only-H.R. 2010-National Service Trust Act)
- H.Res. 233-P(general debate rule only-H.R. 2401-National Defense Authorization FY94)
- H.Res. 322-P(agreeing to Senate request for a conference on/and waiving 2/3rds on rule to consider a conference on-H.R. 1025-Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act)

Procedural rules 2<sup>nd</sup> Session-103rd (5 rules):

- H.Res. 356-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 3759-Emergency Supplemental Approps)
- H.Res. 395-P(general debate only rule-H.R. 4092-Violent Crime Control & Law Enforcement)
- H.Res. 397-P(providing for suspension day to consider/&motion to go to conference-S, 349-to provide for disclosure of lobbying activities)
- H.Res. 441-P(waiving 2/3rds-H.R. 4426-FY95 Foreign Operations Approps)
- H.Res. 522-P(waiving 2/3rds-Conference on H.R. 3355-Omnibus Crime Control & Safe Streets)